TWO ASSIZE SERMONS,

By R. VALPY, D.D. F.A.S.

PUBLISHED AT THE REQUEST OF

THE HIGH SHERIFF AND GRAND JURY

OF THE COUNTY OF BERKS,

WITH NOTES HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL,

AND AN APPENDIX.

25.64

BRITISH MUSEUM

*** *The reader is requested to correct the few typographical errors remaining, chiefly in the accents and punctuation.*

THE

PROGRESS OF MORALITY, RELIGION AND LAWS,

IN THE DIFFERENT PERIODS OF THE WORLD,

CONSIDERED IN

A SERMON,

Preached at the ASSIZES at READING,

BEFORE THE HONORABLE

MR. JUSTICE WILSON, AND MR. JUSTICE GROSE,
MARCH 6, 1792.

BY RICHARD VALPY, D.D. F.A.S.

Of Pembroke College, Oxford: Rector of Stradishall, Suffolk;
and Master of Reading School.

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1793.

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO

JOHN BLAGRAVE, OF CALCOT-PLACE, ESQUIRE,

HIGH SHERIFF OF THE COUNTY OF BERKS,

THIS SERMON

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY HIS

FAITHFUL AND OBLIGED SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

MARCH 19, 1792.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE former of theſe Sermons was printed in March, 1792, at the requeſt of the High Sheriff, and preſented to the Grand Jury and to a few friends, but was not publiſhed.

In his excellent Charge * to the Grand Jury at the laſt Spring Aſſizes, Sir Naſh Groſe honored the latter with a flattering notice, which the author cannot but conſider as ariſing from the importance of the ſubject and the goodneſs of the intention. The Grand Jury deſired that it might be publiſhed, with a polite earneſtneſs, which rendered ineffectual the author's ſolicitations that they would not perſevere in their requeſt.

The great outline, ſo ſlightly ſketched in the firſt Sermon, appeared to require ſome notes. Theſe led the author much further than he intended, and although they were curtailed for the preſs, he fears an apology is due for their length on ſuch an occaſion. The times offer ample cauſe for the diſcloſure of political principles, and for a diſcuſſion of the probable effects of the im-

* That Charge contained an antidote of ſuch ſovereign efficacy to the poiſon of diſaffection, and ſo forcible an appeal to the heart and underſtanding in favor of the Conſtitution, that the Grand Jury but expreſſed the ſenſe of the whole country when they requeſted his Lordſhip to publiſh it. It was a ſerious loſs to the public that an accident prevented the publication.

portant tranſactions, which at preſent engage the awful attention of mankind. The opinions hazarded in the two firſt Nos. of the Appendix, however they may be reprehended by party violence, are dictated by a mind under the influence of no party. For entertaining thoſe opinions, as he knows the purity of his motives, the author cannot blame himſelf. Whether he is blameable for publiſhing them, his readers will judge. The cauſes, which produced the laſt No. of the Appendix, are well known to the author's friends. To the public he can only ſay, that his wiſhes will be completely gratified, if he can be inſtrumental in ſtilling the rage of party, and in diffuſing a ſpirit of candor and benevolence among his fellow citizens.

The Notes and Appendix were written in the month of April. Circumſtances have changed; whether that change has juſtified, or confuted, the conjectures contained in them, the reader muſt determine.

The firſt Sermon was printed in the Spring. Domeſtic anxieties and misfortunes have prevented the publication of the work till this time.

DEC. 14, 1793.

HEB. vi, PART OF v. 1.

LET US GO ON UNTO PERFECTION.

IT is an arduous, and it appears an invidious, taſk, to controvert long eſtabliſhed opinions. But when thoſe opinions have a pernicious effect on public morals, and tend to weaken the efforts to advance in religious *perfection*, it becomes the duty of a good citizen, and particularly of a Miniſter of the Goſpel, to counteract their influence. If it was thought criminal, in a poliſhed State of antiquity, to remain neuter in civil commotions, much leſs does it become us to look with indifference on thoſe prevailing

maxims, which are calculated, in their effects, to relax our exertions in moral and religious purſuits.

The ſubject of this remark is the opinion that the world is in a ſtate of conſtant and regular degeneracy, and that every age is inferior to the preceding in ſentiments of virtue, and in religious practice. Moraliſts have eſtabliſhed this as a principle, and religious enthuſiaſts have thrown a diſpiriting gloom over the comforts, which beamed in the pious mind. The error has become general.* Naturaliſts have pretended to diſcover a gradual inferiority in the productions of the vegetable world, in the ſtature, and bodily ſtrength, of man, and in the ſalutary

* Encyclopédie Méthodique, Juriſprudence, Tome IX, article *Corruption*.

To account for this diſcouraging opinion, it may be obſerved, that the acts of injuſtice and iniquity, of which we are the witneſſes or the victims, ſtrike us much more forcibly than thoſe, of which we only read the effects, imperfectly and partially deſcribed. Hiſtorians contract a peculiar fondneſs for the times

tary influence of the ſeaſons. The Hiſtorian has dwelt with rapture on the ſuperiority of mankind in former ages in civil and heroic accompliſhments; and the man of letters has extolled the peculiar excellence of the ancients in works of taſte and genius, as a gift denied to the exertions of modern times.

To believe that the world is in a ſtate of progreſſive improvement will animate our efforts in the purſuit of moral and religious excellence. We ſhall then, in the words of the great preacher of godlineſs, *abound more and more, provoking one another unto good works; grow in grace, and go on unto perfec-*

times and events, of which they draw the portrait. Heroic deeds, brilliant atchievements, and inſtances of generoſity, however few in number, or of doubtful authority, are ſkilfully placed in the ſtrongeſt light; while the general manners of the times are either omitted, or thrown into a diſtant ſhade.

The virtues of our anceſtors never excite our envy. But it requires great liberality of mind to acknowledge contemporary merit. *Naturaliter audita viſis laudamus libentius; et præſentia invidiâ, præterita veneratione, proſequimur; et his nos obrui, illis inſtrui credimus.* Vell. Paterc. L. 2, 92.

tion. But if we admit the diſpiriting doctrine of degeneracy, we ſhall be ſatisfied if we are not worſe than the world around us. And, as nothing here below is ſtationary, we ſhall ſoon relax in our activity, the deſcent will be rapid, and our *laſt ſtate ſhall be worſe than* our *firſt.*

To prevent this dangerous conſequence, it is neceſſary to remove the principles, which tend to produce it. It will therefore be the object of the preſent diſcourſe to trace the hiſtory of human morals and religious practice in every age, not forgetting to obſerve, in the progreſs, the connection of both with laws and civil inſtitutions. From this inquiry, if it appears that the different periods of the world have been marked by the great Author and Reſtorer of human nature with new bleſſings, and freſh advances *to perfection,* we ſhall, I truſt, riſe from the diſcuſſion with hearts animated by gratitude, and with endeavours *to preſs towards the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God, in Chriſt Jeſus.*

ON

ON the firſt inhabitants of the world it is painful to dwell. The diſobedience of our firſt parents, and the murder of Abel by his only brother, ſtain the firſt page of hiſtory. Of the ſtate of mankind before the deluge, it is only neceſſary to obſerve that the enormity of their ſins even forced the God of mercy to repent of the creation of the world. The forcible deſcription which Moſes gives of the manners of the firſt ages, leads us to believe that they were guilty of exceſſes, of which ſucceeding generations have left us no example upon record. If the primitive ages have been fondly celebrated for their ſimplicity, it was becauſe the imperfection of the mechanic arts had not afforded them the means of luxurious enjoyment. The refinements of pleaſure could not exiſt in an age of ignorance: the moderation of men was the conſequence of their neceſſities.* The corruption of their manners

* This paſſage may introduce a collateral obſervation. Even in modern times, among the lower claſſes, the inceſſant labor, required to procure a daily ſubſiſtence, leaves little time for diſſipation,

manners frequently ſtaggers the belief of modern times. Without wounding your imagination with the crimes, and the fate, of the flouriſhing cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, we may obſerve that the hiſtory of Dinah offers to our view a breach of faith, of which no community has been guilty in

diſſipation, and ſcanty means of luxurious indulgence. The rich and the great afford a general topic of ſevere animadverſion, becauſe they employ the time, and uſe the means, which their ſituation gives them, in the enjoyment of the gifts of fortune and of art. The former are ſhielded from notice by their obſcurity; the latter are placed on a conſpicuous elevation, which often produces envy, jealouſy, the ſecret wiſh of detraction, and the open captiouſneſs of diſguſt, in thoſe who move in a lower ſphere.

By a ſimilar ſpecies of falſe reaſoning, we are apt to annex the idea of virtue to frugality and auſterity, without reflecting that in particular ages of all nations they have been impoſed by neceſſity. They can only deſerve the name of virtue, when they are found in a rich and flouriſhing country. Ageſilaus, in his apparent contempt of luxury, only ſubmitted to the cuſtoms of Sparta, when he made the ground his bed. His greatneſs was diſplayed when he refuſed the offer of large poſſeſſions. The character of Phocion riſes far above that of Curius, when we conſider the difference of the times, and countries, in which they lived.

latter

latter times.* The trueſt feature, with which the primitive ages can be delineated, is—that they diſplayed vice in all its deformity.

LED by the hand of the Almighty, and protected from every danger by the alternate pillars of cloud and fire, which his gracious preſence raiſed before their ſteps, the Jews, it might have been ſuppoſed, ſhould have been a pattern of moral virtue and religious obedience to ſucceeding generations. But melancholy is the deſcription, which Moſes and the Prophets have left us, of their perfidy and ingratitude. Neither the ſea, which ſeparated to form a paſſage for the Hebrews; the manna, which deſcended from heaven; the water, which flowed from the dry rock; nor the Sun himſelf, who ſtood ſtill to be the ſpectator, and the auxiliary, of their triumph, could ſecure their obedience to the God, who ſpoke in thunder from Mount Sinai.

* Geneſis, ch. xxxiv.

It is not difficult to form a judgment of the inflexible obſtinacy, and vicious diſpoſition, of the Jews, by the ſeverity of the laws, which the wiſdom of Jehovah enacted for their government. Perhaps indeed a conjecture may be hazarded that no nation upon earth ever ſtood in greater need of the mighty arm of the ſupreme avenger, to bring them to conviction and reformation. Violators of the Sabbath,* adulterers,† idolaters,‡ and diſobedient children,§ were puniſhed with inſtant death. Inſolvent debtors were reduced to ſlavery. Death was inflicted for offences, which, in other times and circumſtances, would have been thought venial. Yet theſe ſeverities were ſtill inſufficient to preſerve their fidelity to their God. When unreſtrained by his viſible preſence, they corrupted themſelves, *they forſook the Lord*, and even made a golden image the object of their adoration.

* Numbers, c. xv, v. 32—37. † Levit. c. xx, v. 10.
‡ Deuteron. c. xiii, v. 6—10. § Levit. c. xx, v. 9.

The

The depravity of their kings, the defection of the ten tribes, and the total ruin of the nation, were the juſt chaſtiſement of their inconſtancy. Under the kings, the hiſtory of the Jews preſents the moſt horrible ſpectacles, and the moſt bloody cataſtrophes. Their iniquities at length drew the vengeance of the God of their fathers on their heads.

If ſuch was the conduct of the people of God, the object of a great diſpenſation, we muſt not expect to find a purer ſyſtem of morals among the reſt of the world. *The earth indeed was corrupt before God, it was filled with violence.* Inſtances of rude barbarity ſhock the imagination of the attentive obſerver. Such was the ferocity of their general manners, ſuch their unprincipled cruelty, that individuals were obliged to be perpetually in a ſtate of defence.* Strength of body, and bravery in battle, were the moſt deſirable accompliſhments of thoſe

 times.

* Thucydides, l. 1, 6.

times. With ſome it was the height of luxury to drink in the ſkull of a ſlaughtered foe.* With others, no woman was permitted to marry, who had not killed an enemy with her own hand.†

Man, ſenſible of his wants, is naturally religious. When the God of nature was removed from his view, the ſun and the ſtars were eaſily ſubſtituted as the objects of religious homage. Admiration and gratitude deified mortals. Animals were afterwards worſhipped: and ſuperſtitious folly terminated in the homage paid to inanimate beings. If an inviſible being was in ſome countries preſent to the eye of reaſon, fancy transformed the God of mercy into a tyrant. He was thought to be honored moſt by the effuſion of human blood.‡ Thus the perfection

* Herodotus, l. iv, 65. † Herodotus, l. iv, 117.

‡ Man, created in the image of the Deity, has, by a ſingular return, repreſented the Deity as tainted with the blackeſt paſſions, that diſgrace his own character. Hence human ſacrifices were ſuppoſed moſt effectually to propitiate the divine mind.

perfection of holineſs was imagined to conſiſt in the delirious exceſſes of ſuperſtitious cruelty.

mind. The Babylonians are ſaid to have introduced this unnatural cuſtom. *The Sepharvites*, probably a branch of that people, *burnt their children in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the Gods of Sepharvaim.* 2 Kings xvii, 31.

The idea, that the moſt beloved object was the moſt acceptable ſacrifice to the Deity, often rent the ties of nature in the moſt tender part. Among the Phœnicians, a father did not ſcruple to immolate his only child, a huſband to plunge a knife into a heart as dear to him as his own, to avert ſome public misfortune. Porphyr. l. 2.

In Carthage, the children of the nobility were ſacrificed to Saturn. The calamities, which Agathocles brought upon that city, were believed by the inhabitants to be a puniſhment for the ſubſtitution of ignoble blood; and to appeaſe the wrath of the God, they immolated two hundred children of noble blood in one ſacrifice. Plutarch. *de Superſtit.*—*Diod.* Sic. l. xx.

The ancient Germans imagined that they could not honor their favorite Deity more effectually than by the ſacrifice of human victims. Their prieſteſſes opened the veins of the ſufferers, and drew omens from the rapidity of the ſtream of blood. Tacit. *Germ.* ix.—Diod. Sic. l. v, 20.

It is unneceſſary to relate the inſtances of this inhuman frenzy, recorded not only in profane, but in ſacred, hiſtory. But the ſacrifice of ſtrangers and priſoners of war ſeems to have been general even among thoſe nations, which are ſaid to have poſſeſſed ſome regular ſyſtem of government.

Achilles,

cruelty. Their penal laws were ſtamped with the ſame bloody ſeal. The laws of the Egyptians and Chineſe exhibited equal

Achilles, in Homer, immolates twelve Trojans to the manes of Patroclus. *Iliad.* xxiii, 175.

It has been generally believed that theſe ſacrifices were offered by the ancient Egyptians. Yet Herodotus denies the fact, l. 2, c. 45. It may be obſerved that he grounds his diſbelief on the improbability that Hercules, according to the Grecian account, ſhould reſcue his life from ſacrifice by the ſlaughter of a whole multitude. The Grecian fable had for it's object the diſplay of the matchleſs ſtrength of Hercules; but it is ſcarcely probable that the Mythologiſts would have choſen for the ſcene of his proweſs a country, in which it was not well known that human victims were ſacrificed. Beſides it is eaſy to obſerve with what pleaſure Herodotus dwells on the hiſtory of the Egyptians, and with what partiality he excuſes their ſuperſtitious rites, and dignifies their manners. The ſame partiality may be eaſily traced in Diodorus Siculus, who extols the character of the Indians, and inſenſibly leads the incautious reader, through a long ſeries of abſurdities, to his favorite concluſions. l. ii, 2, 31.—Lud. Vives *de tradendis diſciplinis*, l. 5.

It excites more aſtoniſhment, to find that, even in the 532d year of Rome, two Greeks and two Gauls ſhould be buried alive in a public place of the city, to ſatisfy the ſuperſtitious prejudices of the populace. Liv. l. xxii, c. 57.

terrors,

terrors. In ancient Gaul* and Britain† the common lot of criminals, or captives, was to be burnt alive on the altars of the Gods.

In this ſtate of manners we ſhall ſearch in vain for a mild ſyſtem of government. Deſpotiſm was the common form of civil conſtitution. The Aſſyrians, the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Elamites, felt the weight of arbitrary power.‡ Homer himſelf appears to have no other idea of government.§ During all its boaſted dynaſties, China has been governed by abſolute monarchs.‖ The ancient republics of Athens and of Rome had the ſame origin. So de-

* Cæſar *de Bello Gall.* l. vi, c. 16.—Diod. Sic. l. v, 21.

† Dio. l. 63.—Camden's *Britannia*, vol. 1, p. viii, Gough's edition.

‡ *Omnes antiquæ gentes regibus quondam paruerunt.* Cic. *de Legibus* III, 2.—See Juſtin. I, 1.—Diod. Sicul. I, 4.—Pauſanias, *Bœotica.*

§ Homer. *Iliad.* II, 204, 205.—Corn. Nep. *in vitâ Dion.* c. 6.

‖ Martini, *Hiſtoire de la Chine*, l. i, 15.

graded

graded was the mind of the Jews, that they demanded *a king to rule over them* with unbounded authority.

It is difficult to riſe ſo far above the prejudices of education as to reprove the manners of ancient Greece and Rome. From our early youth we have imbibed, in the writers of thoſe celebrated States, an admiration for the heroic deeds, which they deſcribe. Our hearts have glowed with the flame of liberty at the contemplation of a Brutus or a Leonidas. Our ſenſibilities have been awakened by the characters of an Ariſtides and a Cato; and we have formed higher conceptions of the dignity of human nature from the virtues of a Titus or an Epaminondas. But theſe are the coruſcations of meteors, which only ſerve to diſplay the deep horrors of the darkneſs. The Grecian States may be deſcribed as a people imperious, gloomy, and perfidious, heedleſs of the rights of nations, delighting in civil maſſacre, ſavage in their warfare, and treating their ſlaves, and their priſoners, as victims devoted to cruelty.

Honeſty

Honeſty, wiſdom, and juſtice, had not even received a name in the ancient language of Greece. * Where the tree receives ſo little culture, the fruit muſt be ſour and diſguſting. †

The

* See Goguet, *Origine des Loix, des Arts, et des Sciences*, Part ii. l. vi, c. 3.

† If the Greeks are not accuſed of having offered human ſacrifices, their ſuperſtition was perhaps ſtill more bloody in its conſequences. The divine vengeance, denounced by the oracles againſt the profaners of the ſacred territories, lighted the flames of war. Whole ſtates were reduced to ſlavery, and their lands confiſcated to pious uſes. The priſoners were not indeed offered in ſacrifice to the Gods to obtain public bleſſings; but they were maſſacred in cold blood to gratify the rage of private malignity.

Thoſe vices, which, in the ſame countries, in modern times, hide themſelves from public notice, were openly avowed, and became the criterion of elegance, and the favorite theme of poetical panegyric. The ingenious De Pauw, in his *Recherches Philoſophiques ſur les Grecs*, oppoſes to the teſtimony of Plutarch, and the concluſions of Monteſquieu, the tribute paid to the power of female charms at the tower of Seſtos, and the rock of Leucadia; as if it could be ſuppoſed that the great biographer meant to inſinuate that nature will not aſſert her rights, and vindicate her laws, notwithſtanding the occaſional perverſion of ſentiment, and depravity of taſte. The conju-

gal

The Roman Empire, that coloſſus, which had been formed out of the ruins of ſurrounding nations, was marked with every ſpecies of barbarity. Having no foreign enemy

gal infidelity of the Greeks had become ſo faſhionable, that in the time of Pericles, almoſt 5000 Athenian citizens were illegitimate. Plutarch. *in Pericle.*

The diviſion of Greece into a number of ſtates only multiplied the cauſes of war and deſtruction. It was rare to find a citizen, however meek his diſpoſition, however quiet his occupation, who lived and died in peace. Revolution ſucceeded revolution. Argos was the ſcene of one, in which, after a bloody ſeries of cruelties, the victorious party rioted in the death of twelve hundred citizens. Diod. Sicul. l. xv.

In the times of Grecian civilization, the government ceaſed to be founded on military deſpotiſm, and the people acquired more conſideration; but, inſtead of reſting ſatisfied with the influence neceſſary to reſiſt oppreſſion and ſecure civil liberty, they uſurped a power, which had been productive of leſs violence and tyranny, while it was poſſeſſed by one individual. The Republic of Athens, the boaſt of ſome modern philoſophers, was alternately made the ſcene of the moſt atrocious tyranny, and unbridled anarchy, by thoſe ſeducing orators and aſpiring demagogues, one of whom, Andocides, had the honeſty to confeſs that "he had been produced by nature in her angry mood, to become a prey to the malice of fortune and the ſerpents of diſcord." (Andoc. *on Myſteries.*) It has been generally believed that the battle of Cheronæa terminated the power of Athens.

enemy left to ſubjugate, it turned at laſt the ſword into its own boſom. Civil wars have been the curſe of every age: but the proſcriptions of Marius and Sylla are unparalelled

Athens. But the vigorous ſyſtem of government adopted in Macedonia could ſcarcely fail to obtain a decided ſuperiority over a State without wiſdom or ſecrecy in it's plans, without reſolution or unanimity in it's operations; a State, which decreed the puniſhment of death againſt him, who ſhould propoſe to apply the funds deſtined to theatrical amuſements to objects of a civil or military nature; a State, of whoſe overthrow it's greateſt orator has left us the moſt ſtriking cauſes. Demoſthenes *de Coronâ*.

If among the Athenians a man was diſtinguiſhed from the diſſipated multitude by eminence in virtue, juſtice, or wiſdom, he was ſentenced, like Miltiades, to impriſonment; like Ariſtides, to baniſhment; or like Socrates, to death. It has not been generally obſerved that Socrates, who would not perhaps have been ſo much celebrated, had he died by the common courſe of nature, did not really ſuffer for the charges alleged againſt him, which Xenophon has ſo admirably refuted, but for the reaſon, which has lately doomed to a more ſummary death many excellent characters in France: he was an *Ariſtocrate*. He had educated the leaders of the Thirty Tyrants, who were ſuppoſed to have derived their political tenets from their great maſter. Such too was the perſecution, which Ariſtotle endured from that people after the death of Alexander.

This is not the only inſtance, in which the character of the Athenians, for greatneſs as well as cruelty, as it is delineated

lelled in the annals of cruelty and revenge. The very ſports of the Romans were ſanguinary. The games, which delighted them, were not the rewards and the ſoothers of their labors, but the fruit and the aliment of their vices. They tended to familiarize the ſpectators to the blackeſt deeds of vio-

by Plato, bears a ſtriking affinity to that of the French. If, in a ſmall State like the former, democracy entailed miſery and ruin on the people, he muſt have paid little regard to hiſtorical analogy, and poſſeſs little knowledge of human nature, who can expect to ſee it flouriſh in the latter.

Dark as the picture of the Athenians is exhibited, it is ſunſhine when compared to that of the Lacedemonians. *Les Lacédémoniens*, ſays De Pauw, *rentraient dans la claſſe des nations barbares, puiſqu'ils ne cultivaient ni les ſciences, ni les arts: ils ne ſavaient qu'aiguiſer des javelots & des poignards, pour dépouiller tous ceux qui étaient plus foibles qu'eux; & ils firent enfin de la ville de Lacédémone ce que Platon appelle l'antre du lion, où preſque tout l'or & l'argent de la Grèce alla s'engloutir.*

Cette déprédation, ſoutenue pendant pluſieurs ſiécles par des brigands vraiment inſatiables, forme le plus ſombre tableau de toute l'Hiſtoire Grecque; on y voit ſans ceſſe la perfidie ſuppléer à la force ouverte, & les notions les plus ſacrées de la juſtice céder au moindre appât d'un interêt ſordide. Rech. Phil. Part. iv, 1.

lence,

lence, and to leave on their minds impreſſions of ſavage inhumanity. *

The

* No period of their hiſtory exhibits the Romans as a virtuous nation. Slaves and fugitives in their origin, they always retained ſtrong lines of that character, during the exiſtence of the Republic. Their ſucceſſes, and what is called their glory, were a neceſſary conſequence of the defects of their government, and of the vices of their governors. Subjected at firſt to the patricians, and afterwards to the richer citizens, the people groaned under the heavieſt oppreſſion. Unlike the Athenians in a democratical ſtate, who frequently baniſhed their eminent chiefs, they were ſometimes forced to ſecede from a city, where every alteration of fortune and property embittered their feelings with an acceſſion of miſery. If their diſtreſſes ever burſt through the preſſure of ariſtocratical tyranny, new wars were undertaken to divert their attention, and to huſh their complaints, until they were led, through ſucceſſive conqueſts, to the ſubjugation of the peopled world.

The progreſs of the Romans is beſt deſcribed by the Roman Hiſtorian: *Raptores orbis, poſtquam cuncta vaſtantibus defuere terræ, et mare ſcrutantur: ſi locuples hoſtis eſt, avari; ſi pauper, ambitioſi: quos non oriens, non occidens ſatiaverit; ſoli omnium opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiſcunt. Auferre, trucidare, rapere falſis nominibus imperium, atque ubi ſolitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.* (Tacit. *Vit. Agricolæ*, 30.) We need only inſtance the celebrated atchievements of Julius Cæſar, who boaſted that he had taken eight hundred towns, vanquiſhed three hundred ſtates, fought three millions of men, of whom two thirds had been either ſlaughtered or reduced to ſlavery.

Theſe

The laws of the Twelve Tables, like thoſe of Moſes, enacted the forfeit of *an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth;* and, like thoſe of the Athenian Draco,* might be ſaid to be written in characters of blood.† It is enough to mention that the unfortunate debtor might be legally torn limb from limb to ſatisfy his unrelenting creditor.‡

The

Theſe victories entailed miſery and ruin on the provinces, while they poured immenſe treaſures into the coffers of the Senators and the Knights. Yet the Plebeians experienced no diminution of diſtreſs. Their means of ſubſiſtence were chiefly confined to occaſional diſtributions of corn, wine and oil, except when the general corruption gave them an opportunity of ſelling their votes. Public games, and ſpectacles of gladiators, while they deadened their feelings, and abſorbed all reflection, gave them a reliſh for cruelty without an object, and for vengeance without a principle. In this ſtate of things, it cannot be thought a ſubject of wonder, that their government ſhould have terminated in civil wars and proſcriptions, and been ſucceeded by Imperial deſpotiſm, which ſoftened the manners and ſoothed the diſtreſſes, but increaſed the numbers, of the poor.

* Hence the Epigram of Politianus:

Inventum Actæi dicuntur jura Draconis:
Nil mirum eſt; certè nil niſi virus habent.

† Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, chap. xliv.

‡ Such is the conſtruction, which ancient writers have given

to

The moral virtues of thoſe civilized nations were, in general, the effect of oſtentation;

to the words of the *third* table, reſpecting debts, as it is interpreted by A. Gellius, xx, 1. It appears that a creditor could, at the expiration of thirty days, ſeize an inſolvent debtor, who could not find bail, and keep him ſixty days in chains. During this time he was allowed to expoſe him three market days to public ſale for the amount of the debt, and at the expiration of the third to put him to death. If there were many creditors, they were permitted to tear and divide his body among them. Such appears to have been the letter of the law. (Hooke's *Roman Hiſtory*, l. ii, chap. 27.—Roſinus, *Antiq. Rom.* viii, 6.) But the intereſt, if not the humanity, of the creditors uniformly induced them rather to ſell the debtor, than avail themſelves of this cruel right.

Monteſquieu, Bynkerſhoek, Taylor, and other reſpectable modern authors on Juriſprudence, have been ſo forcibly ſtruck with the barbarity of this regulation, that they have denied this privilege of the creditor; and aſſerted that the law only enacted the ſale of the debtor's perſon, and divided the price among his creditors.

A. Gellius gives no room to ſuppoſe that a doubt had exiſted on the interpretation of that paſſage. He clearly marks the difference of the law on that ſubject at the time, in which he lived: *membra et artus inopis debitoris breviſſimo laniatu diſtrahebantur, ſicut nunc bona venum diſtrahuntur.* In the ſequel of the chapter, he laments, in the character of Sextus Cæcilius, the effects of the relaxation of law. He aſſerts that, if thoſe who were convicted of falſe teſtimony were, as formerly, thrown headlong

tion; and their religion only proved the weakneſs of human reaſon, when it is unaſſiſted

headlong from the Tarpeian rock, that crime would not be ſo common as he affirmed it to be.

Two diſtinguiſhed Roman Hiſtorians of our own country, Gibbon and Ferguſon, follow the acceptation of A. Gellius. "Rynkerſhoek's interpretation," ſays the former, "is one perpetual harſh metaphor; nor can he ſurmount the Roman authorities of Quintillian, Cæcilius, *Favonius* and Tertullian." (Chap. xliv, note 178.) Who this *Favonius* was, whoſe authority is here repreſented of ſuch weight by the Hiſtorian, does not appear. Cicero mentions an active perſon of that name, (*Orat. pro Mil.—Epiſt. ad Attic.* i, 14.) who is not recorded to have delivered his opinions on the laws of the Twelve Tables. Perhaps the Hiſtorian means to allude to *Favorinus*, a Philoſopher, introduced by A. Gellius in the chapter already quoted, holding a converſation with Sext. Cæcilius. See alſo *Noct. Att.* ix, 8; x, 12; xvii, 10; &c.

The words of the paſſage in queſtion: SI. PLUS. MINUS. VE. SECUERUNT. SE. FRAUDE. ESTO, if the goods only of the debtor were underſtood, would militate againſt a well known law, which nonſuited thoſe, who took or demanded more than the exact debt. Torrent. *Comment. in Sueton. Claud.* 14.—Gruter. *ad Senec. Epiſt.* 48. Thus Plautus, *Moſtell.* III, i, 122.

Damiſta, *Tantum eſt: nihilo plus peto.*

Tranio, *Vélim quidem hercle ut* uno nummo plus *petas.*

To a people ſo ſimple and unpoliſhed as the Romans were at the time of the promulgation of the Twelve Tables, it is not probable

assisted by revelation. Their very Deities were represented as giving the sanction of

probable that a criminal law would have been addressed, in which a word of the most important signification was used in a figurative sense. If any force is allowed to this observation, SECANTO will rather be applied to the literal dismemberment of the body, than to a partition of the effects, of the unfortunate debtor. Nor will the use of the words *sectio* and *sector*, for the *purchase* and *purchaser* of the effects of the condemned, which yielded a profit by the sale in retail, invalidate this conjecture; for they were introduced at a subsequent period, when the progress of civilization had given rise to more abstract terms. It may be observed that Ernesti in his *Index Latinitatis Ciceronianæ* denominates SECO *verbum chirurgicum*. And Gesner, *ad verb.* thus expresses himself: *Quid esset* in LL. xii. *tabularum* secare *debitorem, disputatur*. Gell. xx, 1. *et* Quintill. iii, 6, 84. *mihi persuadent reipsâ permissum fuisse creditoribus* secare in partes ipsum corpus debitoris; *sed nunquam eo deventum: qualia etiam in Germanorum legibus veteribus fuisse accepimus*.

But although the law was never, in execution, carried to this degree of barbarity, the situation of the miserable debtor was, in the early ages of the Republic, marked with inhuman severity. In the year of Rome 259, according to Livy. (ii, 23.) one of the distressed *nexi* appeared in the forum, with all the marks of haggard wretchedness, complaining *ductum se ab creditoribus, non in servitium, sed in ergastulum et carnificinam esse*. The early part of the history of the Roman republic exhibits a melancholy series of those oppressive measures towards debtors, which more than once brought the State to the brink of ruin.

The

of example to all the vices, that degrade the human mind.

Such

The cruelty of theſe laws was ſoon, however, ſoftened; and in the year of Rome 402, it was found neceſſary to decree a partial liquidation of debts; (Liv. vii, 21.) and in 429, the diſgraceful conduct of L. Papirius to C. Publilius, a youth, who had been legally forced to ſurrender himſelf as a ſlave for his father's debts, induced the Conſuls to propoſe a law, enacting that in future the property, and not the perſons, of debtors ſhould be ſeized for payment. (Liv. viii, 28.) Yet the operation of this humane decree was afterwards eluded, and the people were driven by arbitrary ſeizures to ſecede to the Janiculum. Even the Porcian law, in the year 452, which ordered that no Roman citizen ſhould be ſcourged or put to death, offered but an imperfect protection to the people.

Were the law reſpecting debtors thought of inſufficient force, or of doubtful authority, to prove the ſeverity of the Twelve Tables, it would not be difficult to produce other inſtances. By this ſyſtem a father had the right of life and death over his children, which only ceaſed after a ſale of their perſons for the third time. What ſets the cruelty of this inſtitution in the ſtrongeſt light is, that a father was not allowed to diveſt himſelf of this power, to reward filial piety, or to encourage diſintereſted affection. This power ſubſiſted to the time of Juſtinian, who aboliſhed the ſeverity of theſe laws. *Jus poteſtatis, quod habemus in liberos, proprium eſt civium Romanorum. Nulli enim ſunt homines, qui talem in liberos habeant poteſtatem, qualem nos habemus.* Juſtinian. *Inſtit.* i, *tit.* 9.

Such was the ſtate of the world. *By diſobedience all were made ſinners. All, like ſheep, had gone aſtray: they had turned every one to his evil way. All were concluded under ſin, both Jews and Gentiles; and the whole world was become guilty before God.*

But

A woman was ſubject to the ſame mortifying dependence. Her huſband was her only judge, and arbiter of her fate. She was not allowed to ſue for a divorce, a privilege readily granted to a man. If ſhe was convicted of committing adultery, or of drinking wine, her huſband had the right of putting her to death without the formality of a public trial; while ſhe was not permitted, on any provocation, to raiſe her finger againſt him. *In adulterio uxorem tuam ſi deprehendiſſes, ſine judicio impune necares; illa te, ſi adulterares, digito non auderet contingere; neque jus eſt.* (M. Cato, *de Dote*, apud A. Gellium, x, 23.) To this degradation, indeed, women have been forced to ſubmit in all uncivilized nations.

By the ſame laws capital puniſhment was inflicted on libellers and ſatirical Poets. Cicero, *Philoſ. Frag. de Rep.* iv.

So terrifying indeed was the power, which the law gave to the Decemvirs, that they were univerſally deteſted in Rome. The character of individuals, the libidinous barbarity of Appius, could ſcarcely have driven the people to ſuch extremities againſt that body, had not their office ſubjected them to the public odium. It is even probable that, on account of the ſeverity of ſome of thoſe laws, the original tables were not preſerved with

 that

But *to the Lord our God belonged mercies and forgiveneſſes, though they had rebelled againſt him.* The Lord ſent not, as in the days of Sodom and Gomorrah, his angels to deſtroy, but his Son to ſave, them. *He, of whom Moſes and the Prophets wrote, the Chriſt of God, the Wonderful, the Counſellor, the Mighty God, the Everlaſting Father, the Prince of Peace*; he, whom the heavens could ſcarce contain, bore the nature and the infirmities of men, to *redeem them from the curſe of the law. He was wounded for the tranſgreſſions of mankind, and the Lord laid upon him the iniquities of all.* His

that religious attention, which a laudable prejudice would, in other circumſtances, have naturally paid to a code of laws, ſanctioned, on it's introduction, by the general conſent of the people. It is uncertain at what period they ceaſed to exiſt: and a conjecture may be hazarded that they were deſtroyed by the ſecret artifice of thoſe, who had felt the weight of their vindictive aſperity, rather than by the undiſtinguiſhing fury of the Gauls, or by the open violence of ſeditious tumults. When the ſpirit of theſe laws had been ſoftened by time, and humanized by wiſdom, their fragments were carefully collected and committed to memory, *ut carmen neceſſarium*, and became the foundation of that ſyſtem of Juriſprudence, which regulated and adorned the ſubſequent ages of the Roman empire.

doctrine

doctrine and his example unfolded a pure ſyſtem of religion and morality; his death and his reſurrection diſcloſed the glories of a future ſtate.

The effects of this merciful diſpenſation it is eaſy to conceive. Then was diſcovered how dim had been *the leſſer light* of reaſon, *which ruled the night* of the heathen world, compared to *the greater light* of revelation, which now aroſe to *rule the day* of Chriſtianity. Then it was that certainty diſpelled the miſts of error, and virtue triumphed over the human paſſions, or made them ſubſervient to her intereſt; then an univerſal charity united mankind in their Saviour and their God, whoſe boundleſs grace and mercy were propoſed as the objects of their deſire, and the pattern of their imitation. The duties of ſociety became eſſential means of ſalvation. The religion of Jeſus gave faith it's object, hope it's certainty, misfortune it's alleviation, virtue it's reward, life it's cordial, and death it's comfort.

Although

Although Cicero, and the other luminaries of the Auguſtan age, had diſplayed their abilities in illuſtrating, and exerted their virtues in exemplifying, the beauties of Roman juriſprudence; yet it was not until the Chriſtian religion had humanized the mind, that the Roman laws reached their brighteſt period. It was by *ſearching the Scriptures* for the pureſt principles of juſtice, that a connexion was at length effected between philoſophy and legiſlation. Chriſtianity ſhed her benign influence, though yet in an indirect manner, by the examples of patience and goodneſs, which her profeſſors diſplayed, and equally dignified the Portico and the Forum. Although the laws of the Romans, which had originally adopted the genius of thoſe of Solon, were celebrated, in their progreſs, as the moſt admirable code, that had ever proved the ingenuity of man; yet it muſt be acknowledged that from the ſpirit of Chriſtianity Theodoſius and Juſtinian derived thoſe principles of humanity and wiſdom, which enriched and improved thoſe laws, and made them the foundation of all

ſucceeding

ſucceeding inſtitutions. It was the effect of Chriſtianity to aboliſh the barbarous cuſtom, which permitted a parent to murder and to expoſe his child.* The influence of Chriſtianity annulled that odious law, eſtabliſhed by the refinement of metaphyſical ſpeculation, by which one of the parties might at pleaſure diſſolve a connubial connexion, by which an injured wife might be abandoned to all the miſeries of nature and of fortune, and her innocent children left a prey to indigence and ruin.† Influenced by the ſpirit of the Goſpel, the firſt Chriſtian Emperor, Conſtantine, who had conquered by the

* By the conſiſtent cruelty of the laws of Sparta it was lawful for a parent to deſtroy a weak or deformed child. Thus too in Rome, a father was permitted to expoſe his child until Valentinian forbad that barbarous cuſtom on pain of death. On the ſame principles Henry II. of France decreed the ſame puniſhment on a mother, who ſhould abandon her child, and endanger it's life.

† Juſtinian. *Novel.* 117. Mr. Gibbon allows that "the Chriſtian Princes were the firſt, who ſpecified the juſt cauſes of a private divorce." *Rom. Emp.* chap. xliv.

Sign

Sign of the Croſs,* ſet bounds to the ſupreme authority, and made the laws the great rule of conduct.† He ſoftened the rigors of ſlavery, and moderated the ſeverity of legal puniſhment.‡

The

* Whether the viſion of Conſtantine was a miracle, an uncommon meteor, or a politic ſtratagem, the adoption of the Labarum contributed eſſentially to his victory over Maxentius, and to his triumphal entry into Rome.

† Euſeb. *de vitâ Conſtant.*

‡ When it is aſked by the enemies of Chriſtianity whether that religion has encreaſed the virtue or the happineſs of mankind, has leſſened the number of crimes, ſoftened the cruelty of puniſhment, and eſtabliſhed a wiſer ſyſtem of laws, it is ſufficient to refer them to the effects of the Theodoſian and Juſtinian codes. From Conſtantine the Roman laws derived an improved and permanent form. That Emperor, who was not free from errors, to which he was expoſed by an undiſcriminating confidence in his favorites, was fond of meditation, and indefatigable in ſtudy. *Nutrire artes bonas, præcipuè ſtudia literarum; legere ipſe, ſcribere, meditari.* (Aur. Vict. *ep.* 41.) This diſpoſition led him to compare the pure ſimplicity of the Religion of the humble Jeſus with the ſplendid abſurdities of Paganiſm; the compariſon was neceſſarily followed by conviction; and his delay to declare his faith openly was dictated by political conſiderations, and was finally productive of ſignal advantages to the cauſe of Chriſtianity. The influence of his new

The beneficial effects of Chriſtianity were extended even to the calamities of war. From

new tenets upon his conduct was ſoon viſible in the mildneſs and wiſdom of the laws which he enacted or amended.

The arbitrary government of his predeceſſors, whoſe *reſcripts*, *decrees*, and *edicts* ſhook the foundations of civil liberty, and ſubjected the people to the deciſions of caprice, or the irregular ſallies of unpremeditated judgment, was juſtly conſidered by Conſtantine as the principal cauſe of the diſorders, which afflicted his ſubjects. Moved by the humane deſign of meliorating their condition, he fixed the immutability of the laws, and eſtabliſhed the ſuperiority of the ſentence of a judge over imperial reſcripts.

He reſtored liberty to all the citizens, whom Maxentius had condemned to ſlavery. He permitted the affranchiſement of ſlaves, whoſe lives he ſecured by the ſame law, which guarded thoſe of freemen. He aboliſhed the puniſhment of crucifixion, and the penal combat of gladiators, and required that the condemnation of a criminal to death ſhould be preceded by notorious evidence and conviction. In war, he ſpared the blood of his enemies, and in order to engage his ſoldiers to adopt his benevolent deſigns, he gave a premium for every captive, whom they produced alive. When he broke the Prætorian guards, who had more than once ſtained their hands with the blood of his predeceſſors, he conſulted equally the maxims of private policy, and of univerſal juſtice. Cod. Theod. l. i, 2; l. ix, 12, 31.—Aurel. Vict. *de Cæſ.* 41.—Zozim. l. ii.

In conſequence of the complaints, which had with difficulty reached his ears from the provinces, he publicly invited all perſons,

From the time that the Goths and Vandals received the light of revelation, their morals were purified, their hearts were humanized, and, if they ſtill perſevered in their conqueſts, and became the inſtruments in the hands of Providence* to puniſh the Romans for the calamities, which they had inflicted on mankind, their victories were leſs ſullied by cruelty;† their virtues were excited by the

perſons, who thought themſelves aggrieved by his præfects, to make a formal appeal to the juſtice of their country, promiſing protection and reward to the injured, and legal puniſhment to the oppreſſors. To teſtify the rectitude of his intentions, he thus makes the Supreme Being a party to his engagements. *Ita mihi Summa Divinitas ſemper propitia ſit, et me incolumem præſtet, ut cupio feliciſſimâ et florentiſſimâ Republicâ.* Cod. Theodoſ. l. ix, 4.

Such was the influence of Chriſtianity upon a Prince, who, though he was often a prey to the paſſions, which aſſailed him on every ſide, was, at his death, univerſally regretted, and dignified with the title of the Reſtorer of his country. *Cujus ſanè funus Populus Romanus ægerrimè tulit; quippe cujus armis, legibus, clementi imperio, quaſi novatam urbem Romanam arbitraretur.* Aurel. Vict. *de Cæſ.* 41.

* As at the ſiege of Jeruſalem Titus acknowledged the interpoſition of a ſuperior power; Attila in his conqueſts over the Romans called himſelf THE SCOURGE OF GOD.

† From the fierce invaders of the Roman dominions acts of mildneſs

the idea of a future ſtate; they learnt humility from the Goſpel, and mercy from the example of him, who with his dying breath prayed for his perſecutors, and his murderers.

The Moſaic laws were impoſed only on the Jewiſh nation; they were confined to their climate, and to their excluſive intereſt. The ſame obſervation may be made on the human inſtitutions of Confucius, Zoroaſter,

mildneſs and benevolence were not expected. The wars, in which they were the aggreſſors, were marked on each ſide by circumſtances of unuſual fury. Emigrant nations, which compoſed the Northern armies, had, for their only choice, to conquer or to periſh. Retreat was impracticable; while the fertility and the riches of Italy and the Roman provinces fired their imagination, and gave to their rough hardineſs an irreſiſtible force. The Romans, on the other hand, truſted to their diſcipline and bravery for the ſecurity of their property, and the preſervation of their lives.

But victory was unſtained with cruelty. The new poſſeſſors of the country retained the eſtabliſhed uſages. They ſuffered the former owners to ſhare the lands with them, and to preſerve their ancient laws and cuſtoms. Thus the victors and the vanquiſhed ſoon became one people, and the benevolent principles of Chriſtianity ſmoothed their former animoſities into a fraternal contribution of mutual benefits.

Mahomet, and the Indian legiſlators on the banks of the Ganges, which, celebrated as they are by the enemies of revelation, are imperfect, intolerant, and nugatory. But the laws of the Goſpel are preſcribed to all nations, they are accommodated to all the climates of the world, and will endure to the final conſummation of all things. *Heaven and earth will paſs away, but* the *words* of Chriſt *will never paſs away.*

But, alas! the moſt perfect ſyſtem of religion revealed from heaven will, in the practice of it, take a tincture from human infirmities. The doctrine will be perverted by prejudice, and become the inſtrument of human paſſions. In ſpite of the excellent models, which the Chriſtian religion offered to humanity, imperfections crept into it's temporal conſtitution, and defeated in ſome meaſure the intent of that univerſal perfection, which it was calculated to produce. The divine huſbandman *had ſown good ſeed into his field*, it becomes us now to enquire *from whence tares* could ſpring.

Ambition

Ambition and fanaticiſm are the *enemies, that have done this.**

Senſible of the excellence and benefits of Chriſtianity, the people naturally transferred

* Some modern writers, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by paradoxical aſſertions, and by the abuſe of metaphyſical knowledge, have employed their powers of deſcription on thoſe ſcenes of diſcord, which they aſcribe to the influence of Religion. *Quantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum* is the conſtant theme of their declamation, and the fruitful ſubject of their invectives. The unhappy diviſions, occaſioned by theological diſputes, or by the ambition of individuals among the clergy, have exhauſted, in their writings, the limits of reality, and opened the boundleſs field of imagination. They have not conſidered that a reflecting mind will not be ſatisfied with a pompous ſhew of words, or with a deluſive parade of artful ſophiſtry, but will demand ſenſible proofs. Diſtinguiſhing the abuſe, from the proper uſe and intention, of an inſtitution, a cautious obſerver will eaſily find that, far from being a neceſſary conſequence of Chriſtianity, theſe calamitous events have been produced by a ſpirit, oppoſed to the principles of univerſal benevolence, which the Prince of Peace came to inculcate as the baſis of his religion. Were not the direction of Providence viſible in this great diſpenſation, it would be a ſubject of wonder that it had been productive of ſuch ineſtimable advantages to mankind, unchecked in it's progreſs by perſecution, univerſal in it's benign influence, like the God, who is it's author and it's end.

a part

a part of their admiration to it's miniſters. The clergy were invited by the emperors to take a part in the ſecular adminiſtration. Their ſuperior learning produced an implicit deference to their opinions and to their wiſhes. Their ambition increaſed with their power, and ſoon graſped the reins of univerſal dominion. The exerciſe of ſpiritual juriſdiction imbibed the ſpirit of temporal ſovereignty. The Popes lighted the flames of civil war, armed ſubjects againſt their princes, and diſturbed all Europe by the thunder of their anathemas, forgetting that the *kingdom* of him, whom they pretended to repreſent, *was not of this world.*

Yet this was not the extremity of human calamities. The ſavage chieftains of the North introduced the feudal inſtitution, and added a new link to the chain of oppreſſion. The feudal ſyſtem weakened the bonds of civil union, and multiplied the principles of anarchy. Every country, a prey to deſolation and continual alarm, was covered with caſtles, conſtructed to defend the inhabitants,

bitants, not againſt foreign powers, but againſt domeſtic hoſtilities. Public diſorder baniſhed from ſociety the comfort and ſecurity, which had been the great cauſes of it's original inſtitution. The lower ranks of people languiſhed in a degrading vaſſallage, ſubject to the ſame fluctuation of property as the cattle in the fields. But to ſuch a depth of moral wretchedneſs were they fallen, that they appeared inſenſible of their condition, and left a melancholy proof that man loſes with his liberty the generous feelings of virtue, and the exalting energies of religion.*

The fanaticiſm of this age of ignorance was not armed with leſs violence againſt the principles of juſtice, than againſt the maxims of the Goſpel. The Inquiſition exerciſed an odious tyranny over body and ſoul. Bearing in one hand the Goſpel, and in the other the ſword of cruelty, it ſanctioned uſurpations into rights, and errors in-

* Robertſon's *Progreſs of Society in Europe*, Sect. 1.

to

to principles. Secure in the public fear and credulity, it ſucceeded in the attempt to perpetuate deception and ignorance, by ſhutting the gates of religious knowledge on mankind. Diſtruſt and alarm gave a mortal ſtab to the peace of families. The Inquiſitors uſurped the government of the conſciences of mankind, and committed the ravages of war in the name of the God of peace. In their eyes, to be an informer was the height of virtue; imaginary or ſuſpected faults were the cauſes of apprehending, of tormenting, of murdering thouſands of innocent perſons. An almoſt incredible proceſs fixed the doom of their fortune, their honor and their life. The accuſed was never confronted with his accuſer. Caught in the ſnares of a captious interrogatory, he condemned himſelf without ſuſpecting his crime, without a trial, and without an appeal.* If the object of ſuſpicion diſappointed

* *L'inquiſition eſt, comme on ſait, une invention admirable &* tout-à-fait Chrétienne, *pour rendre le Pape & les Moines plus puiſſans,*

pointed his accuſers by his firmneſs and reſolution, a criminal code, which makes the heart of ſenſibility ſhudder, called up the inſtruments

puiſſans, & pour rendre tout un Royaume hypocrite. Voltaire, *Diction. Phil. Inquiſ.* Sect. 2.

It is difficult to refrain from indignation at this unmanly ſarcaſm; but it is eaſy to hold the mirror to the deformity of this celebrated writer. Poſſeſſed of talents, which might have increaſed the enjoyment of rational pleaſures to future generations, Voltaire has diminiſhed the comforts, which were calculated to ſmooth the rugged path of life. To the faſcinating beauties of genius he added the littleneſs of literary envy, to the richeſt vein of imagination the languid tameneſs of diſguſting detail, and to deep learning ſhallow ignorance. He was remarked for ſentiments which dignify, and for paſſions which degrade, humanity; for honeſt boldneſs and creeping flattery; for independence and puſillanimity; for enthuſiaſm in the cauſe of truth and the tortuoſity of evaſive ſubterfuge; for the generous expreſſion of liberality and the unrelenting violence of perſecution; for a virgin regard to modeſty and the unbluſhing diſplay of the groſſeſt indecency. His ſenſibility is ſeduction; his delicacy is artifice; his reaſoning is inconſiſtence. If he ſhews compaſſion to one order of beings, it is only to pour the blackeſt invective on another. If he combats a prejudice, it is only to deſtroy a principle. If he attacks ſuperſtition, it is only to unſettle the human mind. He has expoſed the abſurdity of religious fanaticiſm, in order to ſubſtitute the phrenzy of infidelity. He has raiſed the hundred hands of the Briareus

ſtruments of torture to ſurmount his conſtancy by the apparatus of pain and agony. Stretched on the rack of torment, the hoary father,

Briareus of falſe philoſophy againſt heaven to dethrone the Chriſtian virtues, in order to introduce in their room the hydras of anarchy, and the monſters of libertiniſm. Such is the man, who turns the faculties, which nature has beſtowed on him, to the diſgrace of nature herſelf. Ὡς εἴ τις ἀνδρεῖος ὤν, λῃΐζεσθαι μᾶλλον, ἢ στρατεύεσθαι προαιρεῖται· καὶ ἰσχυρὸς ὤν λωποδύτης μᾶλλον, ἢ συμβουλεύειν· ἢ καλὸς ὤν, μοιχεύειν ἢ γαμεῖν· οὗτος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀγαθῶν ὑπαρξάντων προδότης ἐστίν. Lycurg.

The paſſage here quoted from that verſatile writer preſents one of the gentleſt inſtances of the ridicule, which he in all his works, directly or obliquely, throws at Chriſtianity. The Inquiſition was indeed introduced by profeſſors of the Chriſtian Religion, who, as men, were ſubject to the frailties of humanity.

The beginning of the thirteenth century is generally aſſigned as the epoch of the eſtabliſhment of the Inquiſition, when Innocent III. determined to extirpate the heretical Albigeois. But ſo early as 1184, the Council of Verona had commiſſioned the Biſhops of Lombardy to make a diligent ſearch for all Heretics, and to deliver them to the civil magiſtrates for puniſhment. This inſtitution received an additional impulſe from the ambition of Simon of Montfort, who with the arms of fanaticiſm, in 1213, vanquiſhed Raimond, Count of Toulouſe, whoſe title and poſſeſſions were the rewards of his cruel activity. Italy and Portugal ſoon gave to the Inquiſition a reception, which

father, in the delirium of excruciating pangs, has delivered his only ſon, the comfort of his age; a fond huſband his beloved wife, the

which they thought meritorious. In the former it has diſtinguiſhed itſelf more for abſurdities than for cruelty. Under the reign of Ferdinand and Iſabella, it acquired in Spain a terrific authority, which was rendered ſtill more formidable by the wanton diſpoſition of Philip II.

The idea that the terror of puniſhment could command public ſubmiſſion was the produce of an age of ignorance, in which the art of conciliating the affection and confidence of the people was utterly unknown. The inutility of theſe ſanguinary meaſures was ſoon demonſtrated. So forcible was the impreſſion made by the maſſacres of Languedoc, that the various efforts of the Roman ſee could never introduce the Inquiſition into France. England, Germany and the North of Europe never bowed their necks to it's oppreſſive yoke.

But, as a natural part of the ſyſtem, which this diſcourſe is intended to trace, the Inquiſition has of late been either wholly aboliſhed, or diveſted of it's terrors: it now remains only as a monument of the fervid, but cruel and impolitic, zeal of former ages in the ſervice of religion.

Had Voltaire, and other Philoſophical infidels, tempered their oppoſition to Religion with a little candor, they would have acknowledged, what they could not but obſerve, that it was becauſe theſe ſuperſtitious enormities were oppoſed to the ſpirit of the Chriſtian Religion, that the Reformation was ſo

the partner of his cares and the ſoother of his ſorrows; as innocent victims to the cool

eagerly and ſo generally embraced, and gradually produced that liberality, which has conferred the moſt ſignal ſervices on the cauſe of Chriſtianity and of humanity.

True Philoſophy, embraced without prejudice, and cultivated without the deſire of indiſcriminate innovation, will only add new pillars to the edifice of the Chriſtian faith. A Philoſopher of this age, remarkable for warmth of imagination, for vigor of intellect, and for inconſiſtence, in one of thoſe moments, in which his mind was reluctantly open to the conviction of ſimple truth, ſtrikes us with the following exclamation: *La majeſté des écritures m'étonne; la ſainteté de l'Evangile parle à mon cœur. Voyez les livres des Philoſophes avec toute leur pompe: qu'ils ſont petits auprès de celui là. Se peut il qu'un livre à la fois ſi ſublime & ſi ſimple, ſoit l'ouvrage des hommes! Se peut il que celui dont il fait l'hiſtoire, ne ſoit qu'un homme lui même!——Où eſt l'homme, où eſt le ſage, qui peut agir, ſouffrir & mourir, ſans faibleſſe & ſans oſtentation! Quand Platon peint ſon Juſte imaginaire, couvert de tout l'opprobre du crime, & digne de tous les prix de la vertu, il peint, trait pour trait, Jeſus Chriſt.——Oui, ſi la vie & la mort de Socrate ſont d'un ſage, la vie & la mort de Jeſus ſont d'un Dieu.* Rouſſeau, *Profeſſion de foi du Vicaire Savoyard.*

It is a matter of ſerious aſtoniſhment and regret to find this writer, bold where he ought to be reſerved, and timid where he ought to be reſolute, thus introducing the ſubject of Revelation: *Si j'étais meilleur raiſonneur ou mieux inſtruit, peut-être ſentirais-je ſa verité, ſon utilité pour ceux qui ont le bonheur de la reconnaitre.*

barbarity

barbarity of thoſe unfeeling wretches, who, to calculate the extremes of human ſenſibility, put nature herſelf to the torture, deaf to the voice of the God of juſtice, who has ſaid: *Vengeance is mine: I will repay.**

From ſcenes like theſe the heart of ſympathy ſhrinks with horror and diſguſt. With alacrity we turn to a brighter proſpect. Yet, while we bluſh for the failings of our anceſtors, let us expoſe the artifices of thoſe, who dare to lay them to the account of our religion. With their own weapons are the enemies of Chriſtianity repelled. It was becauſe mankind were not permitted to *ſearch the ſcriptures, which ſet before them*

* That ſpecies of torture, called *queſtion préparatoire*, was aboliſhed in France by the *Déclaration* of Lewis XVI, regiſtered Sept. 5, 1780. This act of beneficence was not ſuggeſted by his miniſters or counſellors: it was the pure effect of the goodneſs of his heart, and the humanity of his principles. Yet this is he, who has been repreſented as the tyrant of his country, and an enemy to public freedom and happineſs!

O judgment, thou art fled to brutiſh beaſts,
And men have loſt their reaſon!

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the way of life, and th way of death, which taught them what they muſt do to inherit eternal life, that the bright ſunſhine of Religion ſuffered a temporary gloom. Thoſe tranſient ſcenes of tumult, which we deplore, are only to be compared, in the great ſcale of Providence, to the ſtorm or the earthquake, which in their effects tend to purify the air, and reſtore the order of nature. And ſuch was the event. The Reformation put the book of God into the hands of mankind. Then was happily reverſed the prohibition made to our firſt parents. The *tree of knowledge*, and *the tree of life*, were at once ſet, in all the luxuriance of the bleſſed fruit, before the world, who were invited and commanded to taſte and eat, and were aſſured that, *in the day that they eat thereof, they ſhould ſurely* live.

Then the volcano of fanaticiſm, after ſo many deſtructive eruptions, was at length extinguiſhed. The Roman Pontiffs, who during ſeveral centuries had oppreſſed the Chriſtian world, had raiſed and dethroned kings

kings at pleaſure, became the humble, and beneficial, adviſers of lenient meaſures, and the advocates for peace. The clergy in general forſook the paths of ambition, and placed their glory in giving encouragement to the meek, redreſs to the oppreſſed, inſtruction to the ignorant, ſupport to the fainting, and, through the promiſes of faith, pardon and grace to the ſinner.*

Yet,

* To the Theological diſputes, occaſioned by the diviſions, which took place between the Church of Rome and the Reformers, the world is much indebted for the progreſs of knowledge. The Proteſtant Divines found it neceſſary to ſtore their poſemical quiver with the arrows of general literature to attack their adverſaries, and the Catholics had recourſe to the ſame armory for weapons of defence. It is as difficult to deny, as it is eaſy to conceive, the important advantages, which have accrued from this deſire of literary acquiſitions to Philoſophy and to humanity. From that period we are ſtruck with the alteration obſervable in the conduct of the Popes. The hiſtory of the revolutions of States and of opinions does not preſent us with a ſtronger contraſt than that, which we remark between the characters of the intolerant Innocent III, or the imperious Leo X, and thoſe of the liberal Clement XIV, or Pius VI; between that power, which, not ſatisfied with a dominion more deſpotic and more extenſive than that of Imperial Rome, arrogated

Yet, let it be acknowledged, a few paſſing clouds have ſtill thrown a caſual gloom. In

gated the diſpenſation of the thunders, and of the mercies, of Heaven, and the ſubmiſſive and hopeleſs embaſſy of an infirm and venerable Pontiff to the court of Joſeph II, to deprecate the total degradation of the Pontifical dignity, and the deprivation of all the privileges of the Holy See.

Much has been ſaid of the licentious manners and diſſolute lives of the French clergy. From all bodies of men, from all individuals, frailties are inſeparable. Inſtances of licentiouſneſs occur, no doubt, in the annals of the ſecular, and even of the regular, clergy. A Judas was found in the number of twelve Apoſtles. The number of French eccleſiaſtics, who may be mentioned as examples of ſanctity of manners and benevolence of diſpoſition, is not, as ſome late writers have repreſented it, ſo inconſiderable, that they

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vaſto.

But it may be affirmed by thoſe, who can boaſt a longer acquaintance with that body, that no order of men merited more public veneration and regard, than the beneficed clergy, before that fatal cataſtrophe, which has baniſhed them from their flocks and from their country. Their exemplary reſidence on their livings; their unbounded charities, which prevented, or relieved, indigence, and never ſuffered them *to lay up treaſures*, except *in Heaven*; command our applauſe, and deſerve our imitation. They have been deprived of their benefices, becauſe the authors of the Revolution dreaded the influence, which their virtues, their diſintereſtedneſs, and the public gratitude, had given them over the minds of the people; becauſe they dreaded, in

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In proportion as the clergy inculcated the benevolent principles of the Goſpel, a viſionary ſyſtem of metaphyſics, and falſe philoſophy,* inſidiouſly aſſuming the name of liberality and toleration, have endeavoured to undermine the foundations of Chriſtianity. The effects of this artifice have been ſorely felt in a neighbouring kingdom. From the benevolent reign of their Henry IV, the people of France enjoyed more happineſs, unallayed by the feuds of politi-

the manners, or exhortations of the clergy, a tacit diſapprobation, or a conſcientious reproof, of their enormities. Our miſerable brethren have made the laſt ſacrifice to the duties of their Religion; they have given the ſevereſt proof of their ſincerity, in expoſing themſelves to the extremity of human wretchedneſs. And ſurely, while they receive the bleſſings promiſed in the Goſpel to *thoſe who are perſecuted for righteouſneſs ſake*, the recording angel of the good deeds of mankind will mark with peculiar complacency, in the volumes of heavenly retribution, the generous relief, which they receive from this favored country.

* Would the philologer, the logician, or the moraliſt, be offended if the term PHILOSOPHISM were hazarded, to expreſs the abuſe, or the reverſe, of Philoſophy?

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cal controverſy, than any nation in Europe.* In ſpite of the imperfections of their government, they were admired for their humanity, and for that gentleneſs of temper, which gives a double reliſh to the advantages, and leſſens the evils, of life. They knew comfort, becauſe they were religious.†

But ſhocking is the reverſe in the preſent day. Of late a race of men has ariſen in that country, who, proud of their talents and attainments, forgetting that their boaſted reaſon derived it's faireſt merits from thoſe Scriptures, which they affected to ridicule,

* *Heureuſe la nation Françaiſe, en ce que ſa tranquillité n'eſt pas fondée ſur un équilibre toujours incertain et ſouvent chimérique, mais ſur un concours général à ſoutenir toutes les formes modératrices, à rendre toute propriété reſpectable, à prévenir toute précipitation dans la confection des loix, à éclairer le légiſlateur lui-même par la liberté de penſer, de parler & d'écrire.*

De la Félicité Publique, Sect. iii, chap. 8.

† This aſſertion is not ventured on the common principle of preſſing unauthenticated facts into the ſervice of a favorite ſyſtem: it is made after a reſidence of ſeveral years in that country, and an intimate acquaintance with the middle ranks of life.

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bore with impatience every ſpecies of authority, and prepared an oppoſition to their civil and religious eſtabliſhment. In the laſt reign, ſome of their chiefs, who had formed a literary connexion with the great Frederic, laid before him a plan for the total overthrow of Chriſtianity. But that wiſe king, though himſelf tainted with infidelity, ſpurned a propoſal, which the experience of ages taught him would, in the downfal of the Goſpel, deſtroy the deareſt bonds of ſociety, and give a looſe to anarchy and univerſal profligacy.*

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* If a politician had ventured, half a century ago, to predict the troubles, with which France is diſtracted, he would have experienced the fate of the diſcredited Caſſandra. Yet at that time were ſown the ſeeds of thoſe pernicious opinions, which have produced that ſpirit of rebellious inſubordination, whoſe fatal conſequences will be long deplored.

The world was improving in arts by practice, and in ſcience by experiment. The human mind was augmenting her ſtores by knowledge, and improving her powers by contemplation. Every day prejudices diſappeared, and were ſucceeded by juſt and rational ideas. The increaſe of commerce enlarged the intercourſe of nations, and the diſcovery of new countries facilitated

The late revolution has crowned their wiſhes with ſucceſs. To augment their influence,

litated the eſtimate of the various qualities and diſpoſitions of mankind. The progreſs was ſlow, yet it was ſenſible. But human preſumption diſdains to ſubmit to the courſe preſcribed by nature, and to wait for the unfolding agency of time. Hence a ſet of men, who were not ſatisfied with the ſolid, but undazzling, reputation, which a gradual improvement afforded, determined to diſtinguiſh themſelves by novelty, to ſubſtitute imagination to reaſoning, and to build their fame on the ruins of every thing, that had hitherto been held ſacred. Influenced by theſe ungenerous motives, Voltaire and D'Alembert formed the project of aboliſhing the Chriſtian Religion, which they artfully confounded with ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm. The deſtruction of Chriſtianity was the theme of their correſpondence. *Je fais comme Caton; je finis toujours ma harangue en diſant:* Deleatur Carthago.——*Il ne faut que cinq ou ſix Philoſophes, qui s'entendent, pour renverſer le Coloſſe.*——*Il s'agit d'arracher les pères de famille à la tyrannie des impoſteurs, & d'inſpirer l'eſprit de tolérance. Cette grande miſſion a déja d'heureux ſuccès. La vigne de la vérité eſt bien cultivée par des D'Alembert, des Diderot, des Bolingbroke, des Hume, &c. Si votre Roi de Pruſſe avait voulu ſe borner à ce ſaint œuvre, il eût vécu heureux; et toutes les Académies de l'Europe l'auraient béni.* Voltaire à D' Alembert, 6 Dec^e. 1757.

The ſame writer, through the whole of his correſpondence with the King of Pruſſia, works upon every ſpring, which had the power of moving the mighty genius of his Royal friend, to effect what was called in their favorite phraſeology: *écraſer l'infame.*

fluence, and to realize their hopes, they repreſented the clergy and the revenues of

l'infame. Had not this politic monarch ſeen, according to his own expreſſion, *les choſes de loin*, the project would not have been adopted by him with coldneſs and reluctance. But his comprehenſive mind calculated the conſequences of this oppoſition to the religious tenets, which, he could not but obſerve, had been the principal ſource of human comforts. *Nous connaiſſons*, to quote his letter to Voltaire of the 13th of Auguſt, 1766, *nous connaiſſons, les crimes que le fanatiſme de Religion a fait commettre. Gardons nous d'introduire le fanatiſme dans la philoſophie: ſon caractère doit être la douceur & la modération.*

Socrate n'adorait pas les Deos majores et minores gentium ; *toutefois il aſſiſtait aux ſacrifices publics. Gaſſendi allait à la meſſe, & Newton au prône.*

La tolérance dans une ſociété doit aſſurer à chacun la liberté de croire ce qu'il veut ; mais cette tolérance ne doit pas s'étendre à autoriſer l'effronterie & la licence de jeunes étourdis, qui inſultent audacieuſement à ce que le peuple révère. Voilà mes ſentimens, qui ſont conformes à ce qu' aſſure la liberté & la ſureté publique, premier objet de toute légiſlation.

Foiled in this attempt, the enemies of Chriſtianity employed their arts on weaker minds. They found eaſy proſelytes in a ſwarm of *œconomiſts* and *philoſophiſts*, who undermined the foundation of the venerable edifice of public order and private happineſs. Theſe have been the promoters and the leaders of a Revolution, which they knew could not be brought to the deſired extremity, while Religion was cultivated, and her Miniſters reſpected.

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the church as the chief cauſes of what they called the public miſery. They perſuaded the people that the ſalvation of the ſtate could only be effected by the ſpoils of the church. Hence the famous decree on the civil conſtitution of the clergy, which has produced a contempt of Religion, and has left no doubt of the real deſigns of the champions of infidelity.* They knew that, if

* Religion was repreſented by the democratic leaders as a temporary ſcaffold to raiſe the edifice of morality in times of ignorance and ſuperſtition; but they ſaid that it was uſeleſs and decayed ſince the building reſted upon the firmer ſupport of political Philoſophy. Every artifice was adopted to render the people ſuſceptible of the impreſſions of infidelity.

One of the greateſt ſanctions of Religion is the comfort, that mankind derive from it's proſpects and promiſes in the hour of calamity. It is this, that fortifies the ſoul againſt the aſſaults of fortune, and can raiſe the ſmiles of hope amidſt the anxieties of fear and the agonies of pain. Whatever may be the excellence of a civil conſtitution, the poor muſt ſtruggle with a thouſand difficulties, they will find new obſtacles ariſe between them and every new proſpect of advancement. Their hopes thus blaſted frequently in their very ſpring; the ſucceſs of others ſuggeſting motives of envy, and their own miſcarriages offering temptations to deſpair, they have one ſource of conſolation left, which is capable of ſuſtaining them under the weight of moral and political

if they could remove the reſpectable characters, who filled the offices of the church with a dignified beneficence, and raiſe in their room a ſet of low, unprincipled, men, their cauſe was triumphant.* The contempt

political burdens, under the heavieſt incumbrances of poverty and diſtreſs. From Religion alone they can derive thoſe aſſurances of retribution, which will change the motives of diſcontent into the pleaſing reflection that, if *they mourn*, they ſhall receive the bleſſings of *comfort*, that their *poverty* will be rewarded with the poſſeſſion of *the Kingdom of Heaven*. Senſible of the difficulty, which the rich experience in their way to ſalvation, they will conſider them as thoſe victims of old, which were crowned with flowers and ſprinkled with wine, only when they were preparing to be ſacrificed.

Theſe ſentiments of reſignation it was found neceſſary to remove. Allured by the glowing deſcription of a returning golden age, which the demagogues aſſerted to be the natural conſequence of the revolution, the people acquired a preſumptuous ſelf-ſufficiency, and a fancied ſecurity againſt moral and political calamities, which made them imagine themſelves ſuperior to the influence of heavenly protection. They diſdained the imputation of ſuperſtitious ignorance, which they were taught to conſider at once as the cauſe, and the effect, of Religion. They determined to be FREE, without a political, or religious reſtraint.

* Thoſe, who have ſacrificed principle to imaginary intereſt, have received, in many inſtances, the juſt reward of their meanneſs

tempt of the clergy is neceſſarily followed by the contempt of Religion.

Deſtructive of morals and public ſecurity will be the decrees of thoſe legiſlators, whoſe laws diſclaim the influence of Religion.* The

neſs or puſillanimity. A leading member of the Second Aſſembly candidly told one of the Conſtitutional Prieſts, who complained of a diminution both of private ſalary and public reſpect, that "the authors of the Revolution found it neceſſary to procure Eccleſiaſtics without principle to ſupport their cauſe and promote their deſigns; they had found them, they had availed themſelves of their ſervices, but they deſpiſed, and would tread them under their feet."

* *Religione ſublatâ, perturbatio vitæ ſequitur, et magna confuſio. Atque haud ſcio, an, pietate adverſus Deos ſublatâ, fides etiam et ſocietas humani generis, et una excellentiſſima virtus, juſtitia, tollatur.* Cic. *de naturâ Deorum*, i, 2.

Some paradoxical writers have aſſerted that, as the rewards and puniſhments, which Religion holds out, have reſpect only to another life, no relation can be ſuppoſed to exiſt between religious principles and the end propoſed by legiſlation. To this it may be replied that the doctrine and precepts of the Chriſtian Religion are ſtrictly congruent with thoſe eternal and immutable laws, which the author of nature himſelf has engraved in our hearts. Government has been eſtabliſhed, and civil laws enacted, only to enforce the obſervance of the law of nature, which the ſway of inclination and the force of paſſion would

The new Conſtitution, deſtitute of the power to command obedience, is ſtruggling for a permanence, which it can never attain; and will be deſtroyed by that violence, to which it owes it's origin.*

The

would every moment tempt us to infringe. It is neceſſary for the welfare of ſociety that the principles of Religion and of poſitive law ſhould be the ſame. The authority of civil law is confined to our outward actions; it has indeed the power of prohibiting crimes, but is unable to incite to active virtue. Weak and imperfect therefore would be it's influence, did not Religion ſupply the deficiency with her ſuperior energy.

* Some inſtances of the imperfection and pernicious tendency of the Conſtitution were here inſerted in the firſt Edition of this diſcourſe. As that Conſtitution is no more, it was thought proper to omit them in this.

Conſidered in a political, or in a civil, view, the French Conſtitution has been repreſented by many perſons of reſpectable abilities, and of benevolent intentions, as the moſt conſummate production of human genius. In examining it analytically, we find, no doubt, much to admire. Many of it's articles, conſidered abſtractedly, appear ingenious and rational.

Inceptis gravibus plerumque & magna profeſſis
Purpureus latè qui ſplendeat, unus et alter
Aſſuitur pannus.

But when we look for a chain of mutual relations, we are ſhocked with the imperfection.

Infelix

The time cannot be far diſtant, when that people will open their eyes to their true intereſts, and adopt the ſpirit of that Goſpel, which proclaimed *Glory to God in the higheſt, on earth peace, good will towards men;* and the *fruit* of which *is in all goodneſs, righteouſneſs, and truth; love, gentleneſs, and faith.**

Let

Infelix operis ſummâ, quia ponere totum
Neſcit.

It was ſaid to be perfect in all it's parts: it wanted nothing to make the French nation as happy as it was free, as virtuous as it was great, but public obedience. With this defect, it might be compared to a moſt exquiſite model of complicated mechaniſm, deficient in nothing, except the ſprings to ſet it in motion. The Executive Power was deprived of the ſubſtance of energy: it was not even followed by the ſhadow of authority.——See Necker, *du Pouvoir Exécutif dans les grand états*, Chap. 15; a work, in which that Ex-miniſter ſhews a rich vein of genius, and a deep knowledge of politics. *O ſi ſic omnia dixiſſet!*

See APPENDIX, No. I. *On the cauſes, which will prevent the eſtabliſhment of a Republic in France.*

* It would be eaſy to accumulate the moſt horrible effects of impiety, anarchy and murder, in the deſcription of the moral and political ſituation of France. This has been done by many, with more zeal than knowledge; and it was as happy for their veracity, as it was diſtreſsful to the feeling heart, that they

Let it not be deemed preſumptuous, if we direct their views to the civil and religious conſtitution,

they might overſtep the line of probability, without incurring the reproach of exaggeration. But they had neither information, to deſcribe the cauſes of events; nor genius, to draw the proper concluſions from them.

The ſubject is ample for the Philoſopher, who wiſhes to collect the darkeſt ſhades for the moral portraits, which he draws of mankind. A diligent ſurvey of hiſtory affords the melancholy concluſion, that truth has been generally purſued through the tracks of error; and that a permanent form of government has ſeldom been attained without the previous experience of various changes, each preceded by longer or ſhorter periods of diſorder. In the progreſs of arts and ſciences experiment is concluſive. Their principles being once aſcertained, and fixed by the unerring deciſions of nature and of taſte, the civilized world is united by the chain of knowledge, and can ſcarcely relapſe into a ſtate of ignorance or error. But in practical politics, the great concern of all mankind, the ſucceſs or the failure of conſtitutional inſtitutions in one age or country ſeldom produce a deſire of imitation, or cautious deliberation, in another. The politicians of the French Revolution placed themſelves above the examples of other countries, above the experience of ages. They diſdained to follow the beaten, though circuitous path, which had led former legiſlators, by ſlow circumſpection, to the eſtabliſhment of order and ſecurity; they entangled themſelves in the wilds of viſionary theory. Like that electrician, who periſhed by the fire, which he had drawn from the clouds without a cautious attention to it's probable effects, they have ex-

conſtitution, which we enjoy, and to that conſequent proſperity, with which a gracious

cited the fury of the populace, without poſſeſſing the ſkill to direct it's operations, or the power to arreſt it's force; and have been overwhelmed in the conflagration, which they raiſed. Happy would it be for their country, and for humanity, if the deſtruction were confined to themſelves. The final event excites the anxious and awful expectation of mankind. All the deductions, which experience could make from hiſtorical analogy, all the reaſonings of ſagacity from cauſes to effects, have been baffled and confounded during the whole progreſs of the Revolution. From the event, however, the Politician and the Philoſopher will derive the moſt ſalutary leſſon. They will learn the neceſſity of Government and Religion; they will beware of metaphyſical abſtraction in a ſcience like that of legiſlation, which is founded on a combination of relations, ſubject to numberleſs exceptions and varieties; they will be convinced that political knowledge can only be the ſlow and progreſſive reſult of experience.

In this hope, when the French have been effectually driven from the countries, which they have ſo impolitically invaded, it may be ſuggeſted, whether it is not the general intereſt to reſtrain them within the ſtrict limits of their own country, and ſuffer them to return, by a regular conviction of the madneſs of their views, and the impracticability of their ſyſtem, to a ſpontaneous demand of a ſtrong government. Should external force effect a counter-revolution, their ſubmiſſion will only exiſt while the danger remains, and the great experiment will remain untried. External preſſure will only encreaſe the coheſion of thoſe diſcordant parts, which muſt otherwiſe fly aſunder, and yield

ous Providence has bleſt us. England has had her days of fanaticiſm and anarchy. *The waves* of ſedition *have ſwelled and raged horribly; but the Lord, who dwelleth on high, hath ſtilled the madneſs of the people. He has fulfilled our deſire, and given us richly all things to enjoy.*

To the excellence of our civil conſtitution reflecting men of all nations bear the teſtimony of admiration. To thoſe, who have lately raiſed the cry of diſcontent and jealouſy againſt it's principles, or it's practice, it might be recommended to ſearch the

yield a ready obedience to the controuling power of a lawful ſovereign. When once internal diſorder has produced it's neceſſary effect, a general concourſe to the re-eſtabliſhment of legal authority; when the proof becomes evident, that a democracy is an outrage to wiſdom and experience, that the intereſt of the high and the low, of the rich and the poor, is equally concerned in the maintenance of tranquillity, in the preſervation of freedom without licentiouſneſs; then the peace of ſociety will be ſecured on the ſolid foundation of univerſal compact; then the progreſs to *perfection* in Morality, Religion and Laws, will, after this temporary impediment, aſſume a general acceleration.

annals

annals of mankind, and when they have found a conſtitution with ſo few defects, let them propoſe their amendments. Perhaps it has not been ſufficiently obſerved, that a free conſtitution, compoſed of ſuch different intereſts, which, amidſt the violence of fluctuating parties, that have alternately wiſhed to raiſe or depreſs the executive branch of government, has ſtood the ſhocks of above a century, muſt be as free from imperfection, as a human ſyſtem can be made.*

From a comparative view of all Chriſtian ſects, it may be affirmed that the Church of England builds her preſent tenets on the everlaſting rock of a Goſpel of charity. Equally diſtant from the ſuperſtition of the Church of Rome, and from the fanatic auſterity of Calviniſm, *her ways are ways of pleaſantneſs, and all her paths are peace.*† It has been

* See APPENDIX, No. II. *On Syſtems of Reform.*

† This obſervation unfortunately gave offence to many Calviniſts in this county, ſome of whom gave vent to their *fanatic auſterity* in a pamphlet, illiberal in it's ſpirit, and founded on the common ſophiſm of miſtaking the queſtion, though by no

been obſerved by an eminent foreign writer,* and it is an obſervation, which at this time deſerves attention, that in England the union of the civil and eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments is conſiſtent with freedom and ſecurity. †

To

no means deſtitute of merit as a compoſition, entitled: *The Doctrine of Grace Vindicated, &c.* This publication would not have been noticed here, had it not given riſe to a reply by an invaluable friend, whoſe natural abilities and acquired knowledge, whoſe liberality of ſentiment and purity of heart, claim the higheſt rank in the eſtimation of every lover of genius and of virtue.

* Monteſquieu, *de l'eſprit des Loix*, l. xix, c. 27.

† A liberal mind exults in the increaſed participation of civil privileges. In this view, too much applauſe cannot be given to Government for the juſtice, that has lately been done to the principles and conduct of the Roman Catholics in Ireland. The magnanimity diſplayed on this occaſion will, it is hoped, deſtroy the ſeeds of that ſordid jealouſy, which marrs the proſperity of both nations, join their hands and their hearts in the common cauſe, and be the harbinger of ſo complete an UNION, that St. George's Channel will exiſt no longer.

The conduct of the Diſſenters, in the late critical conjunctures, proves that they are awakened to a ſenſe of the bleſſings of the Britiſh Conſtitution, that they have as much ceaſed to be what they were in the time of Charles I, as the Catholics have abjured

To the bright luminaries of this country, who, animated by Chriſtian benevolence, have directed their ſtudies to the welfare of their fellow creatures, we may turn our eyes with gratitude and admiration. The miſeries of nature have been alleviated, the evils of poverty have been mitigated, or removed, by the munificence of charity. By the pious foundations of ſome exemplary characters *the hungry have been fed, the naked clothed, the lame have walked, and the blind have received their ſight.* By the humanity of one the priſoners have been viſited, and the enlivening breeze of health has baniſhed ſickneſs and deſpair. Another has extended the be-

abjured the tenets, which they were encouraged to enforce during the reign of James II. Hence we may entertain the pleaſing hope, that the time is not far diſtant, when it will be found no leſs conſiſtent with individual ſecurity, than with general policy, to free them from political reſtraint; to remove from them the natural cauſes of Republican tendencies, by a communication of advantages reſulting from conſtitutional Monarchy; and to induce them to melt their heterogeneous principles into one common maſs of exertion to maintain public order, to ſecure internal peace, and to increaſe national proſperity.

nefits

nefits of charity ſchools, and, by reſcuing thouſands of neglected objects of diſtreſs from beggary and ſhame, has *ſuffered the little children to come to* their Saviour. The Philanthropic ſociety, uniting the virtues of patriotiſm with the practice of a religion of mercy, has ranſacked the dark abodes of debauchery and vice, and ſaved numbers from an ignominious end, and perhaps from the horrors of eternal death. In the number of thoſe, by whom the *Goſpel has been preached unto the poor*, we muſt not forget that zealous man,* who deſcended into thoſe ſubterraneous pits, where the light of Revelation had never beamed, and *turned the hearts of the* profane and the *diſobedient to the wiſdom of the juſt*, and to the knowledge and practice of religious duties. Nor are theſe acts of goodneſs confined to our fellow ſubjects. The oppreſſed multitudes of India, and the poor untutored Africans,† are embraced

* John Weſley.

† The powers of declamation have lately been employed with

braced within the ſphere of our benevolence.

Theſe

with great ſucceſs in deſcribing the atrocities of *modern* ſlavery. The firſt orators in the Britiſh Parliament, and the loweſt and the moſt ignorant of the idle multitude, have expreſſed their abhorrence, the former by their votes, the latter by their petitions, and both by their ſpeeches, of a practice, by which they aſſerted that the Engliſh character had been ſtained with a deeper die of infamy than that, which had blackened any former age or nation. A curſory examination of the ſtate of *ancient* ſlavery will perhaps enable the unprejudiced to form a different concluſion.

The Helots of Sparta were reduced to ſo inhuman a ſervitude, that ſome late writers have called in queſtion the veracity of the accounts, which are left of their condition. (Voyage d'Anacharſis, Chap. xlii, xlvii, notes.) Beſides their labors in huſbandry, in the courſe of which they were treated with a barbarity unexperienced by the very beaſts of burden, they were haraſſed with military ſervices. In the levies, their numbers were in the proportion of ſeven, to one citizen. In every engagement they were placed in the front of the Lacedemonian troops, and were certain of periſhing by the javelins of the enemy, if they advanced to meet, or to make, the attack; or by the ſwords of the regular army in the rear, if they retreated. If, in ſpite of this conſtant expoſure to deſtruction, their numbers multiplied, the Spartan youths were permitted and encouraged at certain periods to iſſue forth in military accoutrements,

Theſe moral and religious bleſſings are nobly ſeconded by the mild character, and merciful

coutrements, to hunt theſe defenceleſs wretches, draw them into an ambuſcade, and maſſacre them in cold blood.

Even in Athens, where ſlaves were treated with leſs inhumanity, they found their condition ſo intolerable, that twenty thouſand of that denomination, who were employed in the manufactures, deſerted during the Peloponnneſian war. Thucyd. l. vii.

According to a calculation made by Demetrius Phalereus in the year 309 before Chriſt, there were in Attica 400,000 ſlaves. All thoſe, who were occupied in a menial trade, were ranked under that deſcription.

The Roman ſlaves were often mutilated in their youth, and abandoned in their old age. Some, whom age or infirmities had rendered unfit for labor, were conveyed to a ſmall uninhabited iſland on the Tiber, where they were left to periſh with famine.

During the intervals of reſt, which nature required, they were chained, and ſent, in large numbers, into dark ſubterraneous apartments, which are now ſhewn under the denomination of *cento camere* in the ruins of rich villas in Italy, and are ſaid to have been uſed for *priſons*.

The food of ſlaves, according to Plautus, was ſalt and garlick, with a little flour; and their drink, vinegar and water. But blows were frequently their food. They were uſually addreſſed by the appellations of *flagritribæ, ulmitribæ, verbereæ, ſtatuæ, ferritribaces, &c.* The inſtruments of their puniſhment

 are

merciful diſpenſation of our laws. Our legiſlators have not been dazzled by the falſe glare

are deſcribed to have been *ulmi, ſtimuli, laminæ, cruces, compedes, nervi, catenæ, carceres, numellæ, pedicæ, boiæ, &c.*

They were frequently hung by the arms during a whole night, and in this poſture ſuffered all the ſtripes, which caprice or barbarity could ſuggeſt. To prevent the writhing of their bodies, and even the involuntary motion of their limbs, heavy weights were tied to their feet. As their fleſh grew hardened and callous by the blows, which they endured day and night, invention was exerciſed for new engines of terror, and for the refinements of pain. The moſt excruciating torments, that their fleſh could ſuffer, were often unſatisfactory to their perſecutors; by an exceſs of cruelty, which defeated its own purpoſes, their limbs were ſometimes broken.

Even women, forgetting the delicacy of their ſex, viewed with a horrible pleaſure, or with careleſs indifference, the execution of theſe ſeverities.

Hic frangit ferulas, rubet ille flagello,
Hic ſcuticâ: ſunt quæ tortoribus annua præſtant.
Verberat; atque obiter faciem linit, audit amicas,
Aut latum picïæ veſtis conſiderat aurum,
Et cædens longi repetit tranſacta diurni.
Et cædit, donec laſſis cædentibus, EXI,
Intonet horrendum, jam cognitione peractâ.

Juv. *Sat.* vi. 478.

A domeſtic ſlave, who had broken a glaſs, was ordered to be thrown into a pond. Another was ſentenced to be crucified for

glare of metaphyſical perfection, but guided by the experience of truth, and the acknowledged

for having killed a boar of an immenſe ſize, which he brought to his maſter in expectation of a reward. Some were expoſed to wild beaſts for inſtances of a want of dexterity, which might be ſuppoſed only to have excited a ſmile.

Pedanius Secundus having been aſſaſſinated in his houſe, his ſlaves, amounting to four hundred, were condemned to death. It was enacted by the Sillanian decree of the ſenate that, when a citizen was killed, all the ſlaves, who were under the ſame roof, or who were within the poſſible reach of his cries, ſhould without diſtinction be condemned to die; and that any man, whoſe compaſſion gave refuge to thoſe, who could find the means of eſcape, ſhould be included in the ſame puniſhment. Digeſt. l. xxix, tit. 5.

Even the ſolace of their toils, and the temporary oblivion of their miſeries, the endearing ſweets of conjugal affection, were privileges, which ſome maſters would not permit their ſlaves to enjoy, unleſs purchaſed at a great price.

Theſe inſtances of wanton cruelty appear too ſhocking for human nature to endure, or for man to inflict; but they are exceeded in atrocity by many others, which might be collected from the Roman writers. It is not therefore wonderful that many of theſe wretches with their own hands put an end to a life, the prolongation of which could only lengthen their agonies.

When Chriſtianity had taught mankind that all men were equally the children of the ſame God, the heirs of the ſame promiſes, and the objects of the ſame redemption, the ſlaves began to

ledged neceſſity of the redreſs of private and public wrongs. Nor ſhould we paſs unnoticed

to experience kindneſs and humanity. Pope Gregory the Great uſes theſe benevolent expreſſions in the manumiſſion of his ſlaves: *Cum Redemptor noſter, totius conditor naturæ, ad hoc propitiatus humanam carnem voluerit aſſumere, ut divinitatis ſuæ gratia, diremto, quo tenebamur captivi, vinculo, priſtinæ nos reſtitueret libertati; ſalubriter agitur, ſi homines, quos ab initio liberos natura protulit, et jus gentium jugo ſubſtituit libertatis, in eâ, quâ nati fuerant, manumittentis beneficio, libertate reddantur.* Potgieſſerus, iv, 1.

Their condition was gradually meliorated, until at length, after the removal of feudal oppreſſion, civil ſervitude was aboliſhed in Europe. This abolition has introduced a general improvement in the ſtate of civilization. It has influenced even architecture. Houſes are not now conſtructed with ſo many contrivances, as were formerly neceſſary to prevent the licentiouſneſs, or the flight, of ſlaves; or with thoſe marks of ſuſpicion, which have given to Spaniſh windows the name of *zeloſias*.

An examination of the ancient ſtate of ſlavery enables us to judge how far that of negroes in the Weſt India Iſlands deſerves equal reprobation. Yet let it not be imagined that it is here meant to juſtify oppreſſion or to ſanction injuſtice. The negro demands the offices of humanity in the name of reaſon and of religion,

Quamvis ille niger, quamvis tu candidus eſſes.

The laws lately enacted by the legiſlatures of the Weſt India Iſlands for the protection of ſlaves afford the pleaſing preſage, that their ſecurity will be eſtabliſhed beyond the power of injuſtice,

unnoticed the obligation, which is due to thoſe, who are charged with the adminiſtration of juſtice. Their candor, their exalted

tice, or the arbitrary demands of avarice. To this melioration the wiſhes of the feeling heart, and the endeavours of the humane politician, may be directed with beneficial effects.

But the forcible prevention of a ſupply of ſlaves from the coaſt of Africa is impracticable; and if it could be effected immediately, or in a given ſhort period, the ruin of the iſlands would probably be the conſequence. This important ſubject demands a ſerious and impartial deliberation.

Οἱ γὰρ κακοὶ γνώμαισι, τἀγαθὸν χεροῖν
Ἔχοντες οὐκ ἴσασι, ποῖόν τις ἰκβάλῃ.

Soph. *Ajax*, 979.

If the ſlow, but certain, progreſs of commercial revolutions is ſuffered to take it's courſe, the demand for importation will be gradually diminiſhed. Many planters have at length found that their humanity was perfectly conſiſtent with their intereſt in encouraging the increaſe of indigenous negroes. The removal of the ſuperſtition of mothers, and an attention to the proper treatment of children, have, in ſome inſtances, produced an adequate ſupply; and unleſs a deſire of haſty innovation, and a ſophiſtical zeal of miſtaken humanity, ſhould change by precipitate meaſures the progreſſive good into an immediate and permanent evil, all the effects, which the pureſt wiſhes of merciful Chriſtianity can anticipate, will be realized, without a ſudden check to a profitable branch of naval commerce, without the violation of public faith and private property.

merit,

merit, it might be thought flattery to praiſe, but it would be ingratitude not to acknowledge.

SUCH is the progreſs, which we have endeavoured to trace, in the Religion, the Morality, and the Laws, of mankind. Such was the darkneſs and diſorder, which prevailed in the earlier periods of hiſtory. And ſuch are the advantages, which we enjoy. It remains to enquire, *what reward we ſhall give unto the Lord for all his benefits?* The preſent imperfect diſcuſſion is not meant to encourage a vain preſumption in our ſuperior merits. We acknowledge that *we are not ſufficient of ourſelves:* we know that *our ſufficiency is of God, who worketh in us both to will and to do, of his good pleaſure.* But we exhort you, we entreat you, we charge you, in the name of God, and in the words of his Apoſtle, that you would *go on unto perfection.*

Let each of us endeavour, in his own character, to forward that univerſal improvement

provement in religious *perfection*, which ſeems to be the intention of infinite wiſdom; to extend the kingdom of God in the world; and to emulate each other in the practice of thoſe virtues, which Chriſt has recommended by his precepts, and ſanctified by his example. Let us, by a conſcientious reverence of the laws of the land, and a zealous wiſh to ſupport their authority, prevent the occaſions of their ſevere exertion. This diſpoſition will convert envy into admiration, fraud into liberality, ſuſpicion into candor, a ſpirit of party* into patriotiſm, reſentment into forgiveneſs, and the paſſions of men into the virtues of angels. This aſpiration after religious *perfection* will gradually withdraw us from an immoderate attention to our terreſtrial intereſts, and their conſequent troubles; and put us in poſſeſſion of that ſerenity of temper, that patience and reſignation, which will enable us to riſe ſuperior to temptation, *to fight the good fight*,

* See Appendix, No. III, *on the late alarming effects of party ſpirit in this country.*

and

and lay hold on eternal life. So when the king and the ſlave, the judge and the priſoner, the ſaint and the ſinner, the ſhepherd and his flock, ſhall ſtand together at the bar of almighty juſtice, at the laſt great Aſſize, which awaits all the generations of the world, we may be united to that Saviour, whoſe doctrine we have adorned, whoſe example we have imitated, and whoſe mercies we have implored. So ſhall we receive that bleſſing, which has been the object of our hopes, and the end of our virtues. So ſhall we, to complete the climax of *perfection*, be glorified in the regions of immortal happineſs, and *ſhine as the brightneſs of the firmament, and as the ſtars, for ever and ever.*

7 JU66

THE

DUTY OF SUBMISSION TO MAGISTRATES,

RECOMMENDED IN

A SERMON,

Preached at the ASSIZES at READING,

BEFORE THE HONORABLE

MR. JUSTICE WILSON, AND MR. JUSTICE GROSE,

MARCH 5, 1793.

BY RICHARD VALPY, D.D. F.A.S.

Of Pembroke College, Oxford: Rector of Stradishall, Suffolk; and Master of Reading School.

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1793.

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO

EDWIN MARTIN ATKINS, Esq.

HIGH SHERIFF;

SIR CHARLES MARSH, KNT.
WILLIAM POYNTZ,
JOHN BLAGRAVE,
TIMOTHY HARE EARLE,
HENRY DEANE,
WILLIAM BYAM MARTIN,
EDWARD GOLDING,
ALEXANDER COBHAM,
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CHRISTOPHER MUSGRAVE, } ESQUIRES;
RICHARD MATHEWS,
JOHN G. RAVENSHAW,
RICHARD SOUTHBY,
JOHN LEE,
RICHARD PALMER,
WILLIAM STEPHENS,
PETER GREEN,
WILLIAM STONE,
ROBERT WOODROFFE,

THIS SERMON
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
BY THEIR
FAITHFUL AND OBLIGED SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

MAY 30, 1793.

1 PETER, ii, vs. 13, 14.

SUBMIT YOURSELVES TO EVERY ORDINANCE OF MAN FOR THE LORD'S SAKE; WHETHER IT BE TO THE KING AS SUPREME;
OR UNTO GOVERNORS, AS UNTO THEM THAT ARE SENT BY HIM FOR THE PUNISHMENT OF EVIL DOERS.—

IN the firſt ages of the world, a great diverſity of diſpoſitions and qualities was neceſſarily productive of great moral diſtinctions. The materials of diſcord increaſed with the diſſimilitude: and, however this variety might be calculated by the wiſe decrees of Providence to promote the general good, a ſuperintending power became neceſſary to direct theſe diſcordant principles to the public welfare, and to engage mankind to the reciprocal diſcharge of thoſe offices, which render man valuable to

to man, and form the firſt links in the chain of ſociety. The frugal, the prudent, and the induſtrious ſaw their exertions crowned with proſperity, wealth, and influence; and were placed in a ſtate of envied ſuperiority above men of a contrary diſpoſition. The latter, ſtrangers to the habits of induſtry and honeſt application, in proportion to the imperfect, or corrupted ſtate of their intellects, and deſirous of retaining an equality,* which ſeems to defeat the purpoſes of nature, adopted the unjuſt methods of acquiring property, from the inſidious meanneſs

* Never was a principle ſo perverted in it's application, as that of Equality. The original framers of the Declaration of the Rights of Man in France only underſtood an equal participation of civil and political rights, "that ſweet equality," ſays the Hiſtorian of England, chap. xliv, "and that happy ſecurity, by which the Engliſh are at preſent diſtinguiſhed above all nations in the univerſe." But the inſufficiency of that Theory, which is not deduced from univerſal Practice, appears, in this inſtance, in glaring colors. Abſtract reaſonings come not within the compaſs of vulgar comprehenſion. It would have been ſafer in the French Legiſlators to err on the ſide of Duties: the nature of man is always ſufficiently prone to ſhake off reſtraint and aſſert independence.

It

neſs of a theft to the daring crime of aſſaſſination. Whatever authority the laws of nature might claim in the reaſon of any individual to reſtrain him from acts of injuſtice; yet, without a ſtronger ſupport, they could afford him but little protection from the machinations of others. Recourſe muſt be had to a bulwark of ſuperior ſtrength for the general ſecurity of life and property. This bulwark is never obtained, till the diſcordant intereſts of men are united by one common bond of ſociety, and cemented by a general law, deſtined to protect the rights and liberties* of individuals, and to puniſh the commiſſion of injuries.

From

It would perhaps be thought unneceſſary in other circumſtances, to recall to notice the following expreſſions of the Poet, which have ſo much the appearance of a truiſm:

Δοκεῖτ' ἂν οἰκεῖν γαῖαν, εἰ πένης ἄπας
Λαὸς πολιτεύοιτο πλουσίων ἄτερ; Eurip. *Æol.*

But we recollect to have heard it frequently ſaid with great ſerioufneſs by Freneh Democrates: *Le tems approche, où l'on dira* les ci-devant riches, *comme on dit aujourd'hui* les ci-devant nobles.

* It is a maxim, which is generally aſſumed as the foundation

From the earlieſt account of aſſociated bodies, mankind have invariably adopted, under different modifications, this method of eſtabliſhing the principles, and of ſecuring the welfare, of ſociety. We call Government that delegated power, of which it is a principal office to interpoſe it's authority between the peaceful citizen and the daring aggreſſor. It either arreſts the hand

tion of every argument on the nature of Government, that man loſes a portion of his liberty to ſecure the other, that in order to acquire the bleſſings of *civil*, he has renounced the privileges of *natural*, liberty.

The exiſtence of abſolute natural liberty ſuppoſes a ſtate ſo ſavage and ſo uncivilized, that no reaſoning can be built upon it. We may, indeed, in tracing the hiſtory of mankind to it's remoteſt origin, as in the beginning of this diſcourſe, ſuppoſe a ſtate antecedent to any bond of union. But the enjoyment and exiſtence of liberty ſeem to imply an idea of ſociety. In this view of it's relative functions, liberty may be ſaid to conſiſt in the right of doing every thing that does not injure another perſon;—a right, which is all that man can enjoy in the firſt ſtages of ſociety;—a right, which man ſtill enjoys in it's full extent in the moſt refined periods of civilization, under the beſt conſtituted, and the beſt adminiſtered, government, in which every order of men receives an equal protection from the laws. Conſidered in this view, therefore, man, in ſubmitting to the civil power, loſes no part of his liberty.

of the robber and the murderer by the fear of civil puniſhment, more awful and exemplary than private vengeance; or it puniſhes the commiſſion of the act with ſuch public infamy, that every member of civil ſociety muſt dread to perpetrate thoſe exceſſes, which are familiar in a wild ſtate of nature. If a well conſtituted government leaves no ſanction for cool revenge, or ſelf-defence unneceſſarily cruel, it may be obſerved that man is thus protected from the danger of his own paſſions, as well as from thoſe of his fellow creatures, and has reaſon to rejoice in the perfect ſecurity, which he derives from civil inſtitutions.* It is a beautiful feature in the character of the law, that it at once humanizes and protects thoſe, who live under it's influence.

As the ſyſtem of nature proceeds in an uniform courſe of order and harmony ſince

* Ἀφοβία μεγίστη, τὸ φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς νόμους.
Synæſius, *Epiſt.* 2.

the firſt impulſe given by the hand of the great Creator, ſo the machine of ſociety, in it's minuteſt details, will be directed by the rules of beneficial regularity, if the firſt ſprings of government are ſet in motion by a body of laws adapted to the nature and genius of the people. If the laws, then, are to be conſidered as an expreſſion of the public mind, a majeſtic repreſentative of national authority, and the moſt valuable production of experience; thoſe, who have received the ſolemn truſt of their adminiſtration, will execute it with the ſtricteſt regard to their ſpirit and direction*. So cloſely connected is the great chain of their operation, that if they are looſely adminiſtered

* It is not the ſeverity, but the certainty, of puniſhment, that checks the offender. The certainty of a moderate puniſhment will make a ſtronger impreſſion than the fear of a ſeverer ſentence, with the hope of eſcaping the execution of it. Certain evils, however light, have the power of terrifying the mind; while hope, which often operates when every other reſource is in reality loſt, removes the idea of the ſevereſt pain, and encourages offences by inſtances of abſolute, or even partial impunity.

niſtered, the public tranquillity is endangered in it's wideſt extent.* Lawleſs actions aim a blow at the heart of ſociety, and the commiſſion of them implies a mind unfit for the participation of it's advantages.† Whenever, therefore, a ſolemn ſentence conſigns an offender to puniſhment, the diſpenſer of the law will remember that mercy to the individual muſt not infringe that juſtice,

* The laws are the foundation of public peace, the ſtrongeſt ſupport of political authority, and the ſacred defence of civil liberty. But the wiſeſt ſyſtems of policy are nugatory, and the beſt conſtitution mere mockery, if the laws are not faithfully adminiſtered. *C'eſt beaucoup moins à leur conſtitution que les Anglais doivent l'avantage d'une ſureté plus grande dans les propriétés, qu'à la vigueur avec laquelle les loix y ſont exécutées. Si les propriétés ſont moins aſſurées en France, ce n'eſt point parceque le gouvernement y eſt abſolu; c'eſt parcequ'il n'a pas toujours veillé avec exactitude au maintien des loix, qu'il ne les a pas defendues toujours avec aſſez de vigueur contre les prétentions ou les entrepriſes des corps puiſſans, qu'il ne s'eſt point aſſez occupé de perfectionner les loix.* Beaumarchais, *note ſur* Voltaire, *Penſées ſur l'adminiſtration publique*, Tome xxix de ſes Œuvres, p. 28.

† Senſible that the bleſſings of liberty can only be enjoyed under a ſtrict adminiſtation of juſtice, the builders of a public goal inſcribed over it's portal: LIBERTAS.

which

which is mercy to the multitude.* He will not ſuffer the indulgence of preſent favor to encourage future offences, leſt miſguided clemency, in ſhielding the guilty, ſhould expoſe the innocent. Juſtice is, after all, but the inſtrument of Mercy;—of Mercy,

* Let it not be imagined, that it is the intention of the author to adopt the principle of the French conſtitution, which tore the brighteſt jewel from the crown of the ſovereign—the privilege of MERCY. The *philoſophical* legiſlators of France widely departed from the idea of their great maſter, Voltaire: *Un code criminel eſt abſolument néceſſaire pour les citoyens & pour les magiſtrats. Les citoyens alors n'auront jamais à ſe plaindre des jugemens, & les magiſtrats n'auront point à craindre d'encourir la haine; car ce ne ſera pas leur volonté qui condamnera, ce ſera la loi. Il faut une puiſſance pour juger par cette loi ſeule, et une autre puiſſance pour faire grace.* Œuvres, Tome xxix, *Idées Republicaines*, 41.

Theſe *errors* indeed, if we may be allowed the uſe of ſo mild an appellation, pervaded every part of a conſtitution, which, even in this country, has been admired and regretted, ſince that climax of wickedneſs, obſervable in the progreſs of the French Revolution, ſacrificed it at the ſhrine of Republicaniſm. In the periodical ſucceſſion of legiſlators and of magiſtrates, that ſyſtem neglected the leſſons of experience, and oppoſed the maxims of antiquity. Οἱ μὲν τοίνυν κατ' ἰδιαυτὸν εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰσιόντες, πρότερον ἰδιῶται γίγνεσθαι, περὶ αἰδοίδαί τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ λαβεῖν ἐμπειρίαν αὐτῶν. Οἱ δ' ἀεὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιγιγνόμενοι, ἧν καὶ τὴν φύσιν καταδεεστέραν ἔχωσιν, ἀλλ' οὖν ταῖς γε ἐμπειρίαις πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων προέχουσιν. Iſocratis *Nicocles*, II, 4.

in

in her ſublimeſt attitude, when ſhe diſpenſes the bleſſings of ſecurity to mankind, and guards the general welfare at the expenſe of the pangs, that ſhe feels for the miſeries, which offenders incur by their crimes. Man muſt ſympathize with man in his diſtreſs; and what form of diſtreſs can excite more horror than that of the poor ſupplicating wretch, who ſtands with trembling heart to hear the ſentence, which dooms him to an exemplary death. His fault is for a moment forgotten; we conſider him only in his relation of humanity, a miſerable prey to the ſame temptations, from which the grace of God has yet preſerved us: cold therefore and inſenſible would be our hearts, if they did not feel for him in the hour of calamity. Freed from the reſtraints, which opinions and principles lay upon our ſenſibility, we diſregard ſocial diſtinctions, in the warmth of our benevolence, and liſten only to the voice of nature. As a ſpirit of revenge has no place in a court of judicature, the paſſion of pity may be allowed to take her courſe reſpecting the man, if it interfere

not

not with the judgment againſt the criminal. But when Mercy conſiders him as a public offender, ſhe forgets the individual; ſhe takes a wider range of conſideration; ſhe looks to the miſeries of lawleſs ſtates, and demands protection in the name of ſociety. With *Truth* for her attendant, according to the beautiful imagery of the Pſalmiſt,* ſhe ſolicits the aid of *Juſtice* for the maintenance of *Peace.*

Juſtice diſdains the partialities of friendſhip, reſiſts the force of inclination, and even ſubdues the riſing ſenſe of pity. The image, under which the ancients have repreſented her, intimates that law muſt be diſpenſed with as much indifference to the neareſt connexions, and the deareſt friendſhips, as if they were annihilated to the underſtanding, and inviſible to the intellectual eye. This inflexibility of judgment will preſerve the rectitude of the public mind, attach it to the protecting power, and pro-

* Pſalm lxxxv, v. 10.

mote

mote external reſpect and internal happineſs, more effectually than the pomp of camps, or the blaze of arms.

If the preſent times admitted only imaginary horrors, it would perhaps be difficult to introduce the ſuppoſition of a ſtate, in which men were left to their natural ſenſe of juſtice, without the curb of civil inſtitutions to check the luxuriance of their appetites.* Brutal force and low artifice, inordinate paſſion and all-ſufficient vanity, by turns predominating, would, in this caſe, ſink human life into a ſtate of inſecurity, oppreſs it with debaſing terrors, and prevent the exiſtence of thoſe arts and enjoyments, which form the prime diſtinction, and the rational pleaſures, of man. Then would be proved how little the boaſted light of nature, the ſole object of worſhip to modern

* To give the moſt forcible proof of the beneficial effects of laws, the Perſians, at the death of a king, ſuffered five days to elapſe without the adminiſtration of juſtice. (Serinus, *in Stobæo*, xlii.)

——*Iſſe diem ſine ſole ferunt.* Ovid. *Met.* l. ii, 331.

Philo-

Philoſophers, could avail to diſperſe the darkneſs of the wild. Delicacy of ſentiment, and gentleneſs of manners, would only be the mark of envy, and the unreſiſting prey of hatred and perſecution. In this ſtate of general depravity, when the judgment and the heart of the uninſtructed* multitude were ſhut, by the arts of the factious and turbulent, againſt the admiſſion of religious principles, virtue and unſuſpecting innocence would only open a path to the torture of martyrdom. Would to hea-

* One of the cauſes of no ſmall magnitude, which have broken the links of ſociety in France, is the want of education in the lower ranks of people. Ignorance encreaſes their natural ferocity, and becomes the mover of anarchy, violence and public diſorder. In times of commotion, the people, having no principle but that of pride, which had been obſtructed by their moral inferiority, are incapable of diſcovering preſent miſery and future ſlavery in diſobedience to the laws, which they conſider only as tyrannical reſtraints, impoſed by armed power upon weak and unarmed obedience. Unable to diſtinguiſh the imperfection attached to the nature of things, from the diſorders produced by the faults of human conduct, they take fire at every breath of oppoſition to their wiſhes; they ravage the country that nouriſhes, the authority that protects, and the power that defends, them.

ven that inſtances of theſe bloody deeds exiſted only in imagination, or were confined to the ſavage manners of the early periods of the world! Would to God that the ſympathy of the feeling heart, and the charity of the benevolent mind, were not, in the preſent ſtate of civilization, called forth to ſooth and to relieve the helpleſs victims of lawleſs barbarity,—many of whom now appear before you,* ſupplicating that pro-

* Theſe words were introduced in this place by the Preacher, who obſerved ſeveral emigrants in the church. A few days before the Aſſizes, many of thoſe unfortunate exiles had arrived in Reading, in conſequence of a Royal Proclamation, which directed them to retire within fifty miles of the Metropolis. Symptoms of diſaffection to them having appeared in ſome of the populace, who did not at firſt diſtinguiſh them from the enemies of this, and of all civilized countries, the Magiſtrates and principal inhabitants of the town aſſociated for their protection, and formed a committee to guard them from injury, and to ſettle them in the moſt comfortable and œconomical manner. A hand-bill was iſſued to explain their ſituation and the reaſons of their flight from their diſtracted country. This had the deſired effect, and they were treated with reſpect and attention by all ranks of people.

It ought to be added, to the praiſe of adminiſtration, that meaſures were on the point of being taken, had the benevolent intentions of the principal inhabitants been defeated, to afford an effectual protection to the unhappy fugitives.

tection, which their own country denies, and conjuring you in the name of their Saviour and your Saviour, of their God and your God, that, as *they are ſtrangers, you would take them in.*

Far different is the lot of a country like this, where the laws are adminiſtered under the influence of the pureſt Religion; where the hand of heavenly truth has engraved on the tables of the national heart the indelible lines of diſtinction in moral conduct; where the King is proud to acknowledge his ſubmiſſion to the laws of the land;* where every

* *La première loi du Souverain eſt de les obſerver toutes. Il a lui-même deux Souverains, Dieu & la Loi. Memoires de* Sully.

Si quid injungere inferiori velis, priùs in te, ac tuos recipias neceſſe eſt, ſi ipſe jus ſtatueris, quo facilius omnes obedientes habeas. Tit. Liv.

In commune jubes ſi quid, cenſeſque tenendum,
Primus juſſa ſubi, tuus obſervantior æqui
Fit populus, nec ferre negat cùm viderit ipſum
Auctorem parere ſibi; componitur orbis
Regis ad exemplum; nec ſic inflectere ſenſus
Humanos edicta valent, ut vita regentis:
Mobile mutatur ſemper cum principe vulgus.
Claudian. *de* 4. *Hon. Conſul.*

individual

individual has cauſe to *thank God*, without the imputation of Phariſaical pride, that in his civil capacity *he is not as other men are*; where, under a ſenſe of gratitude, the generous mind will ſhower the bleſſings of beneficence, which a rewarding Providence will collect at laſt into a never-failing ſtream of private happineſs.

Thus Society appears to be a fabric eſſential to the protection, the comfort, and the dignity of man; and Law the foundation, that ſupports this glorious edifice. It remains for the Preacher to endeavour, as a deduction from theſe principles, to perſuade thoſe, whoſe moral and political tenets are ſtill wavering, that their deareſt intereſts demand a ſubmiſſion to the laws of their country.

IF ever the bulwark of human ſecurity was ſo conſtructed as to demand the reverence and obedience of thoſe, whom it protects, this claim has the Britiſh conſtitution. It has been formed with the moſt deliberate

berate and profound wiſdom; it is comprehenſive in all the particulars of protection, as the guardian of our lives, liberties and properties.* It has been eſtabliſhed by genius, and ſecured by virtue. It deſcends endeared to us as the legacy of heroic anceſtors. Erected gradually, it obtained due time to ſettle itſelf.† Under improvements ſtill continued in all it's parts, adapted to

* *Ceux qui, après avoir étudié la nature du gouvernement d'Angleterre, en examineront les effets, c'eſt-à-dire, en viendront à la meilleure preuve que, dans des choſes de ce genre, on puiſſe adopter, avoueront qu'il a, par deſſus tous les gouvernemens qui nous ſont connus, trois avantages eſſentiels :——qu'il protége le plus ſûrement ;——qu'il exige les plus petits ſacrifices ;——et qu'il eſt le plus ſuſceptible de perfection.*

Encyclopédie Méthodique, Economie Politique, Tome I, article *Angleterre*,

It is highly flattering to an Engliſhman to ſee this homage paid to the conſtitution of his country, in that immenſe repoſitory of human knowledge; in that aſtoniſhing work, which ſeems to fix the boundary of the powers of man; in that *Encyclopédie*, of which the interruption is not the leaſt evil of the French Revolution.

† *Il n'y a que le tems & une longue expérience, qui puiſſent remédier à ce qu'il y a de defectueux dans les coutumes d'un état, dont la forme eſt decidée, & ce doit toujours être ſur le plan de la première conſtitution.* *Memoirs de* Sully, livre vi.

the

the ſtill varying nature of circumſtances, it experiences no neglect, and will ſuffer no decay. Equally the work of foreſight and experience, it has acquired ſo firm a conſiſtency, that we may reſt in the aſſurance that it is alike invulnerable by the ſeditious attacks of democratical diſcontent, and by the ſlow and ſecret artifices of arbitrary power. It has derived nothing, for nothing valuable could be derived, from the chimerical reveries of metaphyſical vanity. To correct the imperfections inſeparable from every work of man, it has called in to it's aid the commands and inſtitutes of God himſelf: that the ſanctions of divine and human laws being united, the very ſprings of action might be influenced, and the conſcience, which cannot be controlled by mere human inſtitutions, be effectually reſtrained; and thus not only every outward act of diſobedience might be repreſſed, but the evil diſpoſitions of the mind, that check the order and perfection of ſociety. On this union are founded the laws of our country: from this they derive a rule of conduct ſo favorable

able to our intereſts in time and in eternity, that the annals of mankind do not afford a more conſummate object of regard and obedience, of admiration and gratitude. Not to watch this ſacred fire, is a ſordid negligence, which precedes the downfal of our virtue, our renown, and felicity; a negligence, which buries us in the depth of anarchy and ruin. If therefore we wiſh to preſerve *the Peace of* our *Jeruſalem*, and *proſper* in the *love* of our country; if we wiſh to avoid the horrors of ſedition and diſcord, which have plunged neighbouring nations in diſtreſs, and will ſtill, it is to be feared, continue to enlarge the inroads of violence and deſolation; *for our brethren and companions' ſakes*, we *will ſeek to do* our country *good*.* We will oppoſe the enemies of it's proſperity at the clear call of duty: we will conſult it's beſt intereſts by that

* Ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τῶν φίλων δὴ καὶ ἑταίρων, εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πολίτας μαχεῖν ἄριστος, ὅστις περὶ τῶ ὀλυμπιάσι, καὶ ἀπάντων ἀγώνων πολεμικῶν τε καὶ εἰρηνικῶν, νικᾶν δίξαιτ' ἂν δόξῃ ὑπηρσίας τῶν οἰκειόμεν. Plato *de Legibus*, lib. v.

ſteady

ſteady attention to the public tranquillity, from which ariſe thoſe harmonious meaſures, thoſe diverſified bleſſings, that national wealth and happineſs, which are the chief ends of well regulated ſociety reſpecting time, and are moſt favorable to the innocence of man in his probationary paſſage to eternity.

YOUR acquaintance with the Scriptures will anticipate thoſe arguments of the Apoſtles, which I might urge to your conſideration. You will naturally recollect the aſſurance of St. Paul, that *the ſword* of the Magiſtrate is intended as *a terror to evil works*, and that *the Power is the Miniſter of God for good.* If you think it of importance to conſider *what you muſt do* in this life, *to be ſaved* in the next, you will *ſubmit yourſelves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's ſake*; if you think it of importance to *fear God*, you will *honor the King.** If you wiſh to prove that you are

* The public character of the King, who is at once the head, and the repreſentative, of the Conſtitution, claims the regard and the reverence of thoſe, who regard and revere that Conſtitution.

are good Chriſtians, you will ſhew the ſincerity of your profeſſions, by proving, as a neceſſary conſequence, that you are good Subjects.*

Without

tution. It may be curious at this period to obſerve the contraſt between the affection, which the French entertained for their King in the times of gallant atchievements, and their preſent malignant oppoſition to every thing, that bears the epithet of Royal. Of this patriotic affection Dominique de Vic may be remembered as an endearing inſtance.

He was Governor of Amiens, of Calais, and Vice Admiral of France. He was as remarkable for his own talents and virtues, as for the protection, which he gave to the learned and the virtuous. In the midſt of a military career, which had produced ſignal advantages to his country, and laurels to his King, he received in his leg a wound, which was attended with excruciating and incurable pains, and forced him to retire to his country ſeat in Guienne.

In this retirement he received intelligence of the death of Henry III, and of the embarraſſing ſituation of Henry IV, to whom his ſkill and valor could not but be of ſingular advantage. He ordered his leg to be cut off, ſold his eſtate for the ſupply of his Prince's wants, fought by his ſide at the battle of Ivry, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſo ſignal a manner, that the King's gratitude could only be equalled by his own diſintereſtedneſs.

Soon after the aſſaſſination of this excellent Monarch, Dominique de Vic was brought by accident into the ſtreet *de la Féronnerie*, to the ſpot, where the crime had been committed. His ſenſations overpowered his faculties. He fell, and expired.

* Tertullian certifies the ſcrupulous attention of the Chriſtians

Without this principle, man becomes the ſlave of paſſion, ſcattering arrows in the dark, and ſparks of fire on a maſs of inflammable materials. Believing this day to be his all, he wildly makes it a day of ſtorms. Unawed by the fear of God into benevolence and juſtice, he loſes himſelf in the maze of ſelfiſhneſs. He calls the iniquitous to his ſtandard, to conſpire againſt that eſtabliſhed order, and thoſe ſacred decrees, which are the deareſt bequeſts of preceding ages. When irreligion has opened it's aſylum, and promiſes a harbour for the moſt abandoned of mankind, it becomes the regions of peace to tremble for their ſecurity. Iniquity has of late been emboldened by the ſight of iniquity, and confederation has ſhewn the wicked their ſtrength. The advocate of ſedition varniſhes his bad cauſe by a plauſible miſapplication of a few uncontrovertible truths, and many ſpecious

tians in ſubſcribing to every civil and financial regulation, while the Pagans exerted all their ingenuity in evading them. *Apolog.* c. 42.

errors, to harden the wicked, to dupe the vain, and allure the ignorant. He well knows that the envious and indigent will crowd in ſwarms about him, who holds out the promiſe of plunder to wanton rapacity, and of elevation to the low by the depreſſion of the exalted. Appeals made to the ignorant on the ſubject of government eaſily bribe them to ſedition by perſuading them that they are adequate to the taſk of legiſlation: an office readily aſſumed by him, whoſe pride is unchecked by knowledge, who is equally ready to bring the Heretic to the ſtake, or the Monarch to the block; to mow down the nobleſt of men with the ſcythe of death, and to ſweep away their faireſt works with *the beſom of deſtruction.* The children of ignorance are the rude inſtruments of theſe tremendous innovations, which tear empires from their baſe, and for the gratification of preſent paſſion perpetuate far and wide to future ages that inſecurity of property, which diſqualifies man for the enjoyment and cultivation of life.

If ever public ſpirit was a duty, the preſent awful ſtate of Europe renders it doubly ſo. Nothing but the deſtroyer of candor, a ſpirit of party; nothing but the bane of manly ſentiment, diſcontented jealouſy; nothing but the parent of ſelfiſhneſs, infidelity; could countenance the levelling efforts of the day, at a time when our natural and civil ſtrength, by the bleſſings of our conſtitution, is the wonder of the earth. Yet if God be not with us, by the revived effect of his law upon our hearts, this ſun will be eclipſed; this temple will, like the fabric of conſular Rome, be levelled with the ground. Public reſolutions and aſſociations, however patriotically intended to remind us of our danger and of our duty; laws and civil conſtitutions, though, like ours, the fruit of the pureſt wiſdom and the wideſt experience; are mere ſhadows, if the imparted laws and conſtitutions of Heaven are not received, obeyed, and reverenced, by man.

O SINNERS! whether you infringe the laws of your country by the violence of open

open tranſgreſſion, or ſeditiouſly undermine the public reverence for eſtabliſhed order, and promote thoſe revolutions, which ſhake ſociety to it's foundation;——however you may evade the laws of man upon earth, remember that your exiſtence will not be cloſed in the grave! The God of love and benevolence, who has endowed us with the ſocial ſenſibilities of the heart, will vindicate his gracious purpoſes by the puniſhment of offences committed againſt the good of ſociety. The time will come, when the gathered clouds of heavenly juſtice will not be diſpelled by the melting rays of mercy; when the maſk of hypocriſy ſhall fall; when the proud heart of preſumption ſhall ſink; when what is now ſcarce whiſpered by the unheeded murmurs of conſcience will be ſounded by the trump of the archangel to the remoteſt regions of the earth. Oh, if you now ſhudder with horror at the thoughts of receiving, in a court of juſtice, a ſentence, which diſſolves the endearing ties of life; what imagination can conceive the ſituation of the daring ſinner, reluctantly recalled into exiſtence

ſilence at the ſecond appearance of the Lord Jeſus, when he comes, *in the glory of his Father, to judge the quick and the dead*, when puniſhment ſhall unfold itſelf in all the ſtrength of inſulted Omnipotence!

The goodneſs of Providence is equally manifeſt in the precepts, that we receive from the mouth of divine inſpiration, and in *all the things, that happen unto us for enſamples.* Human inſtitutions, beſides their preſent utility, may operate *for our admonition*, that we may prepare ourſelves for that time, when *the ends of the world* ſhall *come.* It cannot therefore be too ſeriouſly recommended to thoſe, who attend on the tranſactions of a ſolemn Aſſize, not to conſider it as a common ſubject of idle curioſity; but, while your hearts are pathetically intereſted in the ſituation of the poor priſoners, let your attention be powerfully engaged by the affecting ſimilarity* of circumſtances with

* The hint of this ſimilarity, and of the plan of the beginning of the diſcourſe, was taken from an aſſize Sermon preached many years ago in a diſtant county.

the awful trial of all the aſſembled nations of the earth.

When you behold the priſoner at the bar, ſhould you ſuppoſe him conſcious of his guilt, and perceive his terrifying apprehenſion of his ſentence; think on the agonies of an accuſing conſcience, which you will feel in the day of the Lord, if you have diſobeyed the laws of your God, and the laws of your country. He may ſtill entertain ſome hopes of eſcaping legal conviction from the defect of evidence; nor will he deſpair of a reprieve 'till the inſtrument of death bids him hope no more. But how ſhall you eſcape the ſentence of an all-ſeeing and almighty judge, when " you are yourſelves compelled, even to the teeth and forehead of your faults, to give in evidence!" If he receives from his injured country, through the mouth of her Magiſtrate, the irrevocable ſentence of execution, and you behold him, from the bloom and vigor of youth, changed in a moment to the paleneſs of declining age; O think on the ſoul of the

poor

poor ſufferer, when it hovers trembling on the verge of eternal death, ſhould he expire in hardened impenitence:——but more particularly, reflect on the ſtate of your own, if your names are not found written in the book of life in large characters of mercy and of grace! Induced by preſent admonitions and examples, let us entreat the aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit ſo to influence our conduct, that our names may be written and flouriſh there long after the reign of time, and the deſtruction of our ſtormy abode. While we prudently anticipate the ſolemnities of the final judgment, let us behold with the eyes of triumphant faith, and with the feelings of humble gratitude, our gracious advocate, Jeſus Chriſt, interceding for us, and interpoſing his bleeding body between offended God and repentant ſinners. Taught by the recorded word and example of this bleſſed Redeemer, we ſhall form a profitable, though imperfect image of the temples of the bleſt, of that harmonious tranquillity, of thoſe Seraphic enjoyments, which conſtitute and adorn the Heavens. Thus having *ſubmitted*

ourſelves

ourſelves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake, we may by the communication of patriotiſm render our country *the perfection of beauty, and the joy of the whole earth*. Having *ſubmitted ourſelves to every ordinance* of the Lord, for the ſake of our future happineſs, *for our brethren and companions' ſakes*, we may be conducted by that merciful Saviour, who with the pureſt ſentiments of patriotiſm wept over the impending deſolation of his country, *to the general aſſembly and church* of the holy patriots, *that are written in heaven, to the ſpirits of juſt men made perfect, to a city, which hath* everlaſting *foundations, whoſe builder and maker is God!*

APPENDIX.

No. I.

ON THE CAUSES, WHICH WILL PREVENT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A REPUBLIC IN FRANCE.

Curâ Natura potentior omni. JUV.

THE different forms of government, ſtated by political writers, are ſubdivided, according to the preponderating influence of one over the other, into ſo great a variety, that it is doubted whether two countries, though their civil eſtabliſhment originated in the ſame model, have both retained the ſame conſtitution. Some have aſſerted that this difference was occaſioned by moral, others by natural, cauſes. It has been conſidered as the effect of climate, of ſoil, of ſituation, of manners, of religion, of choice, or of chance:

It

It is not always eaſy to diſtinguiſh clearly between cauſes and effects. This difficulty is perhaps no where elſe more viſible than in the ſubject under our conſideration. It would be an arduous undertaking to confute the miſtakes, and to reconcile the differences, of political writers and hiſtorians, who have entered this wide field of inquiry. It will be ſufficient, for the preſent purpoſe, to make a few general obſervations, which may lead to the concluſion that *France cannot exiſt in a Democratical form of Government.*

Proportioned to the implicit deference, which was formerly paid to the deciſions of Monteſquieu, has been, ſince the time of Voltaire, the oppoſition maintained againſt them. It muſt indeed be confeſſed, that, among the excellencies of this great writer, the unprejudiced reader cannot but lament that he ſo frequently draws general concluſions from facts communicated by travellers of doubtful authority. Among theſe may be reckoned the univerſal effects, which he attributes to the influence of Climate.* But ſubſequent writers have fallen into the oppoſite error, in their undiſcriminating purſuit of novelty. The force of Climate has been univerſally acknowledged. *Sicut in frugibus pecudibuſque, non tantùm*

* Still more confident is the aſſertion of Rouſſeau. *Quand tout le midi ſerait couvert de Républiques, et tout le nord d'états deſpotiques, il n'en ſerait pas moins vrai que par l'effet du climat le deſpotiſme convient aux pays chauds, la barbarie aux pays froids, & la bonne politique aux régions intermédiaires.* Contrat Social, l. iii, c. 7.

ſeminâ

*ſemina ad ſervandam indolem valent, quantùm terræ proprietas cœlique, ſub quo aluntur, mutat. Macedones, qui Alexandriam in Ægypto, qui Seleuciam ac Babyloniam, quique alias ſparſas per orbem terrarum colonias habent, in Syros, Parthos, Ægyptios degenerârunt.** The reſtleſs ambition of the Aſſyrians, the victories of the Perſians, and the commercial activity of the Phœnicians, which may be referred to peculiar circumſtances, are not ſufficient to invalidate the facts quoted by Monteſquieu, to prove the weakneſs of that part of the world, which has been ſucceſſively conquered by the Scythians, the Medes, the Perſians, the Greeks, the Arabians, the Turks, and the Tartars. Equally enervated in the qualities of the body and of the mind, the Aſiatics are incapable of great exertions. They are in general ſo depreſſed by inactivity, that their laws, cuſtoms and manners experience no ſenſible change during ſeveral centuries. Theſe being the characteriſtics of nations oppreſſed by the torrid heat of the ſun,—except in particular caſes, which do not more forcibly militate againſt the general obſervation, than particular currents of the ſea oppoſe the general doctrine of the tides,—no inconſiderable ſtreſs muſt be laid upon the force of climate. Even Religion is not exempt from this influence. The ſouthern parts of Europe, from an exquiſite ſenſibility, abandoned themſelves to ſuperſtition. They aſſimilated their opinions to their paſſions. Their morals became relaxed, and a pompous ceremonial ſuperſeded the ſentiments of piety. The Northern nations, naturally

* Liv. l. xxxviii, c. 17.

gloomy

gloomy and fond of meditation, adopted more rigid principles.* Religious rites have been often framed in conformity to ſome peculiarities of natural ſituation. The Jewiſh legiſlator would not have forbidden the uſe of pork in England. Mahomet would have allowed wine in France. If the temple of Jupiter Ammon had not been placed amidſt the burning ſands of Africa, it would have been lawful to enter it with ſhoes and ſandals. The ſun, the object of admiration and homage in Perſia, was deteſted in Æthiopia as an evil being and a ſcorching tyrant.

A ſtill higher cauſe of the moral difference of men may be traced to their neceſſities. In this view, the nature of the ſoil has a manifeſt influence on human induſtry. A difficulty of procuring the means of ſubſiſtence neceſſarily creates activity; whilſt indolence will be the character of that people, to whom nature has been laviſh of her productions. Nations of conquerors have generally iſſued from countries barren in their ſoil, and difficult in their culture; they have found an eaſy prey in rich and fruitful provinces. In purſuance of this progreſs, the former have gradually ſunk into that effeminacy, which had attracted their invaſion, and facilitated their ſucceſs. Such was the change experienced by the followers of Cyrus on the fruitful banks of the Euphrates; by thoſe of Alexander in the rich fields of Aſia; by the Tartars of Gengis Khân in China and in Bengal; and by the

* De la Félicité publique, Sect. III, c. iv.

Arabians

Arabians in Egypt.* Thus the Bœotians, who inhabited a fertile country, were remarked for their luxury. Polybius repreſents them as indulging their appetites in more than thirty feaſts every month. The Athenians were ſober and temperate, qualities derived from the ſterility of Attica.† The difference between the manners of the contiguous nations of Media and of Perſia may be traced to the ſame principle. The rich plains of the former afforded the enjoyment of every luxury. The rugged and mountainous ſoil of the latter precluded the uſe of ſome of the conveniences of life.‡ From the ſame cauſes it follows that large countries are ſubject to abſolute monarchs. Thus in Aſia, where large plains and few rivers prevent natural diviſions, great empires are eaſily formed. It is indeed impoſſible to fix a boundary to the influence of natural cauſes. Even the burial of the dead is regulated by them. The ancient cuſtom of reducing the bodies to aſhes has been diſcontinued, becauſe population and manufactures have diminiſhed the foreſts of Europe. In the ſecond century, the Romans ſaw the neceſſity of changing the funeral piles into burying grounds, and to abandon the remains of their departed friends to worms and putrefaction.§

* Volney, *Voyage en Syrie & en Egypte*, chap. xl.

† Monteſquieu, *de l'eſprit des loix*, l. xviii, chap. 1.

‡ Xenoph. *Cyrop* l. 1.

§ De Pauw, *Recherches ſur les Américains*, vol. 1. p. 166.

Whether it is actuated by the preceding cauſes, or whether it exerts a primary influence, the national character has an irreſiſtible claim to the conſideration of politicians. Solon being aſked whether he had given the beſt laws to the Athenians, replied that he had given them thoſe, which were beſt adapted to their ſituation. Different nations ſeem indeed formed for different civil and political eſtabliſhments. The hiſtory of Africa affords a perpetual ſcene of ſervitude and abaſement, which may indeed be referred to the awful ſentence pronounced on the poſterity of Canaan, and which ought to convince the unbeliever, that the Almighty diſpoſer of human events has never left himſelf without a witneſs. Egypt, though celebrated in profane and ſacred records, has been ſucceſſively conquered by the Perſians, the Greeks, the Romans, and is now groaning under Turkiſh deſpotiſm. Carthage, having, for a ſhort time, rivalled the power of Rome, was at laſt razed to the ground. The Moors obtained a ſettlement in Europe, but were finally expelled by the Spaniards, who retained an envied poſſeſſion of the fortreſſes of Ceuta and Oran. It is not neceſſary to awaken the reader's feelings on the ſervitude of the miſerable negroes.

Voltaire * conſiders Government as the cauſe of every variety obſervable in different nations. It is perhaps more natural to conſider Government as an effect than a cauſe. The changes of government in Athens

* Dict. Philoſ. article *climat*.

have

have not altered the nature of the people. During the times of the republic, the Athenians are repreſented by Demoſthenes as fond of novelty. Under the Roman yoke St. Paul characteriſes them by the ſame features; and modern travellers aſſure us that their character is by no means altered in the preſent times.

Darius is ſaid to have iſſued thoſe decrees in vain, by which ſome Indian tribes were forbidden to eat their dead parents, and to have been unable to eſtabliſh among them a different mode of burial.

If Italy is not ſo great, or ſo free, as it was in ancient times, it is owing to accidental cauſes; to the victorious irruptions of the innumerable hordes of barbarians; and to it's preſent diviſion into many ſmall and inconſiderable ſtates. It ſhould be obſerved that Italy is a ſubject of perpetual miſrepreſentation: it is repreſented only as the ſeat of oppreſſion and ſuperſtition; it is not recollected that Italy is the reſtorer of literature and of arts, and that it has loſt little of that intellectual capacity, which once effected it's ſuperiority over other nations; therefore ſhould it ever be united under one head, it is as difficult to calculate, as it would be preſumptuous to circumſcribe by thought, it's future greatneſs. Even now, on many occaſions, the former characteriſtics of mind appear, although they are directed to new objects. Religious enthuſiaſm is capable of as great exertions as the enthuſiaſm of liberty. The late uncontrollable ſpirit of the preſent Romans againſt the French

French Republicans gave a ſtrong ſymptom of the energy, which can yet animate the ancient conquerors of the world.

If the difference of government created a proportionate difference in nations, every ſpecies of variety would be obſerved in Italy.

But to moral as well as phyſical cauſes muſt be attributed the difference of governments. This problem has never been properly ſolved, becauſe this variety of effects has been referred by ſyſtematical writers to one particular cauſe alone. The character of a people is antecedent to laws: hence ariſes the diverſity of civil and political inſtitutions. It would be a curious queſtion to decide, what muſt be the government of a nation, under a given variety of circumſtances; and what political changes ought to take place in conſequence of certain given changes in a particular country.

The conſtitution of a people cannot wiſely originate in mere arbitrary choice. A free government can be eſtabliſhed only in a country prepared by internal circumſtances to receive it. The wretched ſlaves of Turkey have often deſtroyed a tyrant, but the annihilation of tyranny has never occupied their thoughts. The ſame people, that depoſed a Nero, removed a Galba.

A nation, which is rendered difficult of acceſs by ſeas or mountains, that has a ſmall tract of country to defend, may aſſume a popular government.

An

An extenſive country, expoſed in ſeveral parts of it's frontiers, that muſt perpetually guard itſelf againſt foreign attacks, that is occaſionally obliged to ſend large forces to a great diſtance, and requires ſecrecy in deſign and energy in execution, cannot be ſafe but under a monarchical government.

Rome could not long exiſt as a republic after the extenſion of it's conqueſts beyond Italy. The ſubmiſſion of the Roman empire to one chief is not to be attributed to the artifice of Sylla, or the bravery of Cæſar, but to circumſtances peculiarly adapted to admit their reſpective influence. When a period was ſet to the progreſs of it's dominion, when it became the chief object of policy to act on the defenſive, a change of government became neceſſary.

If a popular government is admitted eligible in ſome ſituations, a mixed Republic, which gradually becomes ariſtocratical, is intended to be underſtood. A pure Democracy is as contrary to experience as it is inſulting to common ſenſe. Solon ſeems to have had in view rather to diſſuade Piſiſtratus from perſevering in his deſigns, than to eſtabliſh a political axiom, when he ſaid "that a King would acquire the beſt title to celebrity, who changed a Kingdom into a Democracy."* Rouſſeau has obſerved that none but a ſociety of Gods can exiſt in a democratical ſtate. This opinion has raiſed him a hoſt of op-

* Plutarch. *in Sympoſio.*

ponents;

ponents; but recent facts have given it a high rank among the maxims of wiſdom ſanctioned by experience. It is ſufficient to obſerve that, in a Democracy, the mob proſcribes with a blind fury the innocent and guilty; involves in one common ruin the convicted offender, and the honeſt man, who is ſuſpected; and in the imperious courſe of puniſhment takes no compaſſionate account of that indiſcretion, which amounts not to guilt, and of that ignorance, which cannot incur it.* A ſtate of equality is a ſtate of perpetual jealouſy. The people cannot even ſuffer the authority, which they delegate; they deliberate for the legiſlative, and act for the executive power.

Experience proves that all democratical ſyſtems are dangerous and fatal, eſpecially when introduced among nations familiarized by long habit to the forms of a monarchy. The ſovereignty of the people tends to anarchy, and the deſtruction of perſonal liberty. Like a body in motion, popular independence acquires a force, which in proportion to the quantity of matter it contains, and to the velocity with which it is moved, is uniformly accelerated, 'till it has reached it's maximum; then deſtroys itſelf with a ſtill more aſtoniſhing celerity.

It is likewiſe worthy of obſervation that the liberty of enjoying public and perſonal property decreaſes in proportion to the increaſe of political liberty, of the im-

* Ὅτις δὲ εἴλετο ἐν δημοκρατουμένῃ πόλει οἰκεῖν μᾶλλον, ἢ ὀλιγαρχουμένῃ, ἀδικεῖν παρεσκευάσατο. Xenoph. *Rep. Athen.*

mediate

mediate exercise of the sovereignty of the people. In a nation subjected to this form of government, if it is rich and populous, arts, personal liberty, and laws yield to a precarious, arbitrary authority, which, whilst it bears in it's own nature the seeds of it's ultimate destruction, disturbs in the mean time the good order, and the peace of society.*

But, as the transition is easy from exercising, to suffering tyranny, the reign of Democracy cannot be of long duration. A popular despotism is a rigid enactor of a wild and brutal police; and as men love to gratify their senses, an enjoyment which they hope to obtain under one, rather than under many, this system generally devolves into Monarchy. That form of civil constitution can not indeed be permanent, in which the governed are not only equal in theory, but in practice made superior, to their governors; where the executive power has been stripped of those venerable trappings of pomp and majesty, which have been invariably found necessary to rivet the attention, and to command the respect, of the multitude to the magistrates even of the meanest society.

Hence it is that Pennsylvania, of which every political

* Encyclopédie, Jurisprudence, *Preliminaire*. It is remarkable that this, and similar observations, are applied to the present state of France. Strengthened by such authorities, an English writer, in his severe animadversion on a democratical system, will not be suspected of national prejudice.

and

and religious inſtitution is founded upon the principles of equality, begins to preſent a change of features. The Quakers in England, protected in their ſpecial ſyſtem of political inactivity, may preſerve their primitive inſtitutions; but when their American brethren are raiſed into a ſovereign ſtate, the new relations and intereſts ariſing from this new ſituation muſt force their general manners and particular conduct into the path preſcribed by nature.

The hiſtory of ancient Republics will only increaſe our horror of equality and democracy. Among the citizens of Sparta the former exiſted in it's ſtricteſt principles, and Sparta exhibited the moſt inhuman tyranny, that ever oppreſſed mankind.* A Republican ſtate is ſeldom free from a deſpotic chief. Athens had her Pericles.† The Carthaginians were leſs afraid of the Romans than of Hannibal. Camillus, Fabius, Scipio, Metellus, Marius, Pompey, were the Sovereigns of Rome.‡

It remains to inquire, as the chief object of theſe obſervations, what is the character of the French nation, and whether France can exiſt in a Republican form of Government.

* Ἡ γὰρ ἄγαν ἐλευθερία ἔοικεν οὐκ εἰς ἄλλο τι, ἢ εἰς ἄγαν δουλείαν μεταβάλλειν καὶ ἰδιώτῃ καὶ πόλει. Plato *de Rep.* l. viii.

† Bayle, article *Pericles*.

‡ A Robeſpierre and a Danton in Paris, and ſome of the Commiſſioners in the armies and principal cities of France, are inſenſibly riſing to a ſimilar deſpotiſm.

The

The hiſtorical view of France will afford the ſtrongeſt grounds for a concluſion, that the people are too inconſiſtent in their purſuits to form a popular government acting with vigor and effect. The repreſentation, which Cæſar* makes of their diſpoſition, is ſtamped by their late tranſactions with the moſt melancholy confirmation: and the intervening hiſtory of this people but ſerves to rivet on our minds this tragic conception of their national character. They have been compared to thoſe wild animals, who are tamed by art. They are beheld with more ſurpriſe than pleaſure; an impreſſion of terror is felt at the ſight of their moſt innocent games; and the admiration of their apparent gentleneſs ariſes partly from the recollection of their natural ferocity.†

Even in their origin, the Franks were more barbarous than the neighbouring Lombards and Viſigoths. If a chief aroſe, who could curb the rage of the people, it was a lion, who kept the wolves in awe.

Under Charles Martel, the clergy were ſtripped of their poſſeſſions, and had *Philoſophiſm* then exiſted, their perſons would have fallen a prey to lawleſs barbarity. The murders of the Conſtable Lacerda, of the Dukes of

* l. iv, 5.

† De la Félicité publique, Sect. iii, ch. 1.
If ſuch are the ſentiments of a French author reſpecting his countrymen, we ſhall not wonder to ſee them called by Guicciardini *barbari Franceſi.*

Burgundy and of Orleans; the dreadful executions at Cabrières and Merindol, are parellelled only in recent tranſactions. Senſibility ſhudders at the recollection of the cruelties exerciſed by Simon of Montfort againſt the Albigeois; when ſixty thouſand men were ſlaughtered at Beziers; when the inſtruments of this bloody execution, deſirous of diſtinguiſhing and of ſaving the Catholics, were ordered to make an indiſcriminate maſſacre, "becauſe God could beſt judge who ought to be ſaved!" It is unneceſſary to recall the tragical ſcenes of St. Barthelemi, or that long ſeries of maſſacres, which enſued; or the reign of Louis XI, of which the moſt atrocious feature was not the ſacking of Dinan, when eight hundred men, who had been ſaved from the ſword of the conqueror, fell under the axe of the executioner.

Such have been the civil commotions of that unfortunate country, that war was conſidered as an alleviation of the public miſeries, and that the murderous ſpirit was diverted into foreign lands, that France itſelf might not be overwhelmed in a deluge of blood.

The late murders committed by the Marſeillois are only a repetition of the bloody ſcenes acted on the ſame theatre in former times by the Bourguignons and the Armagnacs; when the Pariſian mob of the former faction maſſacred in one day the Chancellor of Marle, the Archbiſhops of Reims and of Tours, five Biſhops, and an incredible number of magiſtrates, of prieſts and gentlemen, who were thrown headlong from the roofs of their own houſes, and received on pikes below. The cruelties,

cruelties, which have lately made Europe ſhudder, have been committed by the ſame people, who, after the battle of Poitiers, ſpread deſolation through the kingdom, demoliſhed all the ſeats of the nobility, butchered the moſt reſpectable of the gentry, and involved their wives and daughters in the general maſſacre.*

If the ſame horrors have not, during the late reigns, blackened the atmoſphere of France, it was principally becauſe the deſpotic power of the monarch checked the natural diſpoſition of the people.

Such is the French character. It requires a ſtrong controlling power, and compreſſing authority. A man, who is now inſolent and imperious in a club, would, four years ago, have betrayed his deareſt connexions, to obtain a ſmile from the menial ſervant of a ſtateſman.†

* Voltaire, who has accumulated ſimilar inſtances of national cruelty in his *Commentaire ſur l'Eſprit des Loix*, combats the opinions of Monteſquieu on the influence of climate by a contraſt of the character of the modern French, whom he repreſents as "equally gentle and valiant, renowned for war and arts, induſtrious and tractable, learned and amiable, and the model of every nation." Had he lived to this day, he would have had an ample field for recantation. This agreeable picture is not indeed ſtrictly conſiſtent with his deſcription of the French in a letter to the King of Pruſſia in 1775: *Le peuple le plus gai eſt le plus barbare.*

† Encyclopédie Méthodique, Juriſprudence, article *Société*.

In the hiſtory of England we lament the deſtructive effects of civil wars. But we behold few inſtances of that private vengeance, of that cool barbarity, which diſgrace the annals of France. Whatever may be the cauſe of ſo remarkable a circumſtance, we are ſtruck with the diſſimilarity of the manners of the two nations. Charlemagne eſtabliſhed in France principles of legiſlation, not inferior to thoſe of Alfred in England. He maintained the people's rights, and placed the adminiſtration in the hands of popular aſſemblies. His character indeed preſerved his inſtitutions during his life, but at his death the feudal ſyſtem ſucceeded.* The French Government has the ſame origin as that of England. France had her Magna Charta, the baſis of her rights and liberties. England was ſucceſſively conquered by different invaders. She has felt the oppreſſion of feudal tyranny: ſhe has been the theatre of frequent revolutions; yet the fundamental principles of her liberty have never been obliterated. Theſe are facts, which ſeem to lead to a concluſion that there muſt be ſome inherent difference in the moral diſpoſition, or phyſical peculiarities, of each nation, which have led them to ſuch oppoſite conſequences. Theſe, and ſimilar obſervations, which will eaſily occur to the reader, ſeem to indicate, that nations require different political eſtabliſhments, according to the variety of manners, of ſituations, and of intereſts; that it is not in the power of arbitrary will

* May not America hereafter have equal cauſe to regret the death of Waſhington?

or

or caprice to change the government of a nation; and that an attempt to adapt the conſtitution of one country to another is to revive the abſurd cruelty of Procruſtes, or that of the Iberians, whoſe criterion of female temperance was a zone of the ſame dimenſions. *

If the laws of France had been contrary to the genius of the people, they would not have ſubſiſted during thirteen centuries among a people remarkable in every period for a love of change. So ſenſible were the component parts of the monarchy of the neceſſary variety of inſtitutions, that when provinces have been annexed to the crown of France, the firſt article of the treaty has uniformly ſtipulated that the inhabitants ſhould preſerve their particular laws and cuſtoms. Thus too, Nobility appears to be a neceſſary part of the political eſtabliſhment of France. In the battle of Fontenay between Lothario and his brothers Lewis and Charles, the greateſt part of the French nobility having been killed, it was found neceſſary in Champagne, where the evil was acknowledged and moſt ſenſibly felt, to permit ladies to confer nobility by marriage.

The relative ſituation of France ſeems to point the neceſſity of a ſtrong government, of a monarchy more abſolute than that of England. Her boundaries are defended on the land ſide by forts and armies: a cir-

* Stobæus, *de Temperantiâ.*

cumſtance,

cumſtance, which in a great meaſure fixes the nature of her government.

The preſent affectation of Spartan ſimplicity, and Roman auſterity, in the French, cannot deſtroy thoſe ideas of luxury, which a long enjoyment has rendered habitual. To adopt the political inſtitutions of a new country it would be neceſſary for them to acquire the ſame morals, the ſame private virtues, and the ſame religious habits. The ſame diſpoſition, that induced them *non fortuitum ſpernere cæſpitem*, ſhould make it an object of ambition *Templa novo decorare ſaxo.** The authors of the French Revolution have determined to adopt the Republican conſtitution of America, without reflecting on the immenſe difference between the two countries. Separated by the Atlantic ocean from the intrigues of Europe, the Americans place their only intereſt in extending the cultivation of the lands offered to their induſtry, in ſecluding themſelves from the buſtle and vices of great cities, in the ſecure enjoyment of domeſtic eaſe, and in the practice of domeſtic virtue. The diſtance between their habitations creates a ſpirit of hoſpitality, and precludes the exiſtence of envy and jealouſy. They feel no apprehenſion for the ſubſiſtence of a large family; they are therefore free from the paſſions of long ſettled countries, deſtructive of comfort and morality. They have no fleets or armies to maintain; and their ſituation

* Hor. l. ii. Od. 15.

ought

ought to preſerve them long from extraordinary taxes. A country like this may proſper under a mild, and even under a weak, government.*

France diſplays a perpetual ſcene of rivality in purſuits and intereſts, and a ſovereign contempt of the principles, which have been hitherto conſidered as the foundation of ſociety. Large cities, the abodes of ſenſuality and the ſources of corruption, pervert talents to the propagation of luxury and vice, diſqualifying the mind for great exertions, and at every unexpected, but natural change of fortune, produce thoſe commotions, which call for the coercive activity of a ſtrong government.

It is impoſſible to eſtabliſh a ſimilarity of conſtitutions between America and France; between a population of four millions, and twenty-ſix millions of inhabitants; between the union of fourteen ſmall States, and an immenſe Empire, in which all the laws, all the conſtituted authorities, muſt proceed from one central point; between a country in the bloom of youth, animated by

* When the habitable part of the United States ſhall have been fully ſettled, a ſtronger government will become neceſſary, if they remain in their preſent unity. The conſtitution of Pennſylvania has already taken a large ſtride towards Ariſtocracy, in the eſtabliſhment of two houſes. But it is probable that, different intereſts ariſing, America will be ſoon or late divided into that variety of independent States, which Europe now exhibits.

vigorous

vigorous purſuits and united intereſts, and a nation ſunk into the torpidity of age, in which morality is but a name, Religion openly renounced, all reverence for character aboliſhed, where every principle is deſtroyed, except that of vanity, which never ceaſes to predominate in France, and which at this time peculiarly recalls the idea of the Phœnix, riſing from the ſplendid pile it has raiſed, to new life, and to a vigor never felt before.*

If France indeed, contrary to every probability, ſhould continue to add conqueſt to conqueſt,† ſhe may preſerve a Republican form of government. During ſuch a faſcinating progreſs, the people are drawn by the dazzling luſtre of glory from a contemplation of their internal ſituation. It is beſides more eaſy to conquer than to govern. With a lever, a ſmall force may move the world; but to ſuſtain the weight of it requires the ſtrength of Hercules.

In their late conqueſts, the French have maintained their former character. *Romanis quærentibus quid in Etruriâ rei Gallis eſſet, illi ſe jus in armis ferre, et omnia fortium virorum eſſe ferociter dixerunt.*‡ The ſame diſpo-

* Necker, *Du pouvoir exécutif*, Vol. II. chap. ii.

† See this ſubject admirably treated in Pictet's *Letter to a Foreign Nobleman*, in which the author diſplays a depth of political knowledge, deſerving the approbation, which it has ſo univerſally received.

‡ Liv. l. V. c. 36.

ſition,

ſition, though nominally directed to different purpoſes, made the Gauls invade Italy, and the French Belgia and Savoy. But by ſuch conqueſts a nation acquires the ſhape of a giant at the expence of health and agility; or like the polypus, loſes the power of motion in proportion to it's ſize. The late invaſion of the territories of their neighbours by the French will create the neceſſity of a ſtrong government to defend their new acquiſitions, or to prevent the dangerous effects of an attack upon their own country, which a deſire of retaliation and a ſenſe of exaſperating provocations may produce in their enemies.* And though proſcription and murder may appear infallible inſtruments in the

* Were leſs danger apprehended from the propagation of French principles, the author would readily cry Amen to the energetic addreſs of Dr. Parr to the Supreme Being, deprecating the ſucceſs of the Continental powers, confederated againſt France. But the ambitious councils of the French have been ſo deſtructive to the peace of Europe under the old government, and ſo inconſiſtent with general order ſince the Revolution, that he cannot but wiſh, that the power which they retain, of diſturbing the repoſe of mankind, may be reduced by a partial diſmemberment of that formidable empire.

Of the war, in which this country is now engaged, a good citizen will wait the event with awful ſolicitude, with ſincere prayers for it's ſucceſs, and with a chearful compliance with the exigences of Government. The extenſion of the power of France, particularly in the Netherlands, militated againſt the intereſts of England; if therefore France perſiſted in the encreaſe, or the preſervation, of her conqueſts, war was inevitable.

hands of a democratical aſſembly, the people will ſoon be weary of ſuch multiplied tyranny, of ſuch hopeleſs miſery, and irreſiſtibly demand a King.

Were every other argument drawn from hiſtorical analogy found inſufficient to enforce the conviction of this neceſſity, the preſent ſtate of France affords the ſtrongeſt proof that a total change muſt ſhortly be admitted. To deſcribe that ſtate would be as diſtreſſing to the heart of ſenſibility, as it is unneceſſary to the man of obſervation. Hiſtorians have dwelt with horror on the Sicilian Petaliſm, which expelled from Syracuſe thoſe, who were moſt diſtinguiſhed for wealth, abilities, or perſonal worth, and raiſed to political eminence the moſt audacious and abandoned of the people.* But this impolitic cruelty falls infinitely ſhort of the ſavage proſcriptions of the French, who can only be compared to thoſe hideous animals, that form an independent Republic in the ſtreets of the towns of Syria, and owe their exiſtence to the relaxation, or total want, of a regular police.†

The advocates of the French ſyſtem allege that the Revolution muſt be permanent, becauſe it was neceſſary, and took place in conſequence of the inevitable courſe of events. But it is more probable that it was facilitated, if not abſolutely produced, by the mildneſs of the

* Diod. Sic. l. XI.

† Volney, *Voyage de Syrie*, Chap. xxxiii.

King;

King, and by the vanity of Necker. Lewis XVI would have prevented the neceſſity of the Revolution, and the deſtruction of his country, by a reſolute adherence to the land tax and the ſtamp duties.* Had the King originally placed his troops in a camp between the Metropolis and Verſailles, inſtead of ſuffering them to be diſperſed in the villages in the neighbourhood of Paris, where they were ſeduced and corrupted by the demagogues, order and government might have been preſerved. If the King had not been ſo ſcrupulouſly averſe to ſhed blood on many occaſions, which will readily occur to the reader's recollection, he might have retained an authority, more neceſſary for the welfare of his people, than for his own gratification. †

Of the calamitous effects of Necker's vanity, his own defence of himſelf in the *Hiſtory of his adminiſtration* will be the ſtrongeſt evidence. He there virtually confeſſes that he gave that power to the national aſſembly, which involved the monarchy and the public ſafety in one common ruin. When he hears, in his diſgraceful retreat in Switzerland, "the groans of roaring

* The repeal of the Stamp act has been aſſigned among the cauſes of the American revolution.

† *La France a bien plus beſoin de ſon Roi, que ſon Roi n'a beſoin d'elle.* Necker, *Du pouvoir exécutif*, Vol. ii, chap. 19.

It would have been fortunate for both, if Necker had been actuated by thoſe principles in the beginning of his ſecond adminiſtration.

winds

winds and rains" iſſuing from the bleak impending mountains, and the "all-ſhaking thunder," which threatens to "rive the concealing continents of cloſe pent-up guilts," well may he exclaim with "the poor diſtreſſed Lear:"

"I tax not you, ye elements, with unkindneſs:
"I never gave YOU KINGDOM!"

The enormous exertions now made by the Republicans for the acquiſition of their end, this combined effort of artifice and violence, of the moſt iniquitous fraud and the moſt bloody force, beſpeak a convulſive reſiſtance of the good order, to which the neceſſities of the nation are naturally tending. The prevailing anarchy itſelf is but a tempeſtuous efferveſcence, which is too violent to laſt, and muſt ſpeedily terminate in a calm. That calm can only be a well regulated and efficient Monarchy, riſing above the ſubſiding ſediment, in conſequence of the returning influence of Religion,* with a purity, that will appear more bright, and be more popularly admired from the remembrance of the recent dregs, and with a force, which the anguiſh of recent miſeries will beſtow upon it, to prevent the poſſible recurrence of the ſame calamities.

* *Parcus Deorum cultor et infrequens,*
Inſanientis *dum* Sapientiæ
Conſultus erro; nunc retrorſum
Vela dare, atque iterare curſus
Cogor relictos.

Hor. l. i. Ode 34.

APPENDIX.

No. II.

ON SYSTEMS OF REFORM.

A threefold cord is not quickly broken:
Eccles. iv. 12.

IF the old axiom, that *to err is human*, be admitted, prejudices againſt reformation in human works are irrational; and it is inconſiſtent with candor and good ſenſe to charge the friends of reform with ſiniſter deſigns, when their propoſitions of improvement are introduced with the temper of moderation. Liberality forbids a haſty condemnation either of the Reformer, or of the perſon, who is ſatisfied with the preſent ſyſtem. Both may have the public order in view; their end may be the ſame, notwithſtanding the different means, which they

they adopt. If an adherence to old ſyſtems be ſometimes a proof of an amiable mind, full of reſpectable partialities, and reſting on the experience of ages; yet this diſpoſition may be hardened into obſtinacy: it may ſubſtitute pride and cowardice to dignity and rectitude, ſelfiſhneſs and low ſuſpicion to generoſity and candor. A change of circumſtances requires a change of ſyſtem. An obſtinate refuſal of reform, repreſſing the efforts of the mind of man, which always tends to perfection, forces human felicity not indeed to be ſtationary, but to become retrograde. Of this nature is the aſſertion of a great Hiſtorian, * who on ſome occaſions could raiſe his voice againſt the oppreſſions of a corrupted court: *Quæ in ſuo ſtatu eodemque manent, etſi deteriora ſint, tamen utiliora ſunt Reipublicæ iis, quæ per innovationem vel meliora inducuntur.*

When Rome had reached the height of victorious greatneſs, ſhe experienced a ſenſible alteration in her circumſtances and manners; a change in her government and laws became neceſſary. The ſame ſyſtem, which had enabled her to ſtruggle into greatneſs, could not preſerve her in that elevation. A wiſe adminiſtration ſhould adopt the conduct of an experienced pilot, who accommodates the courſe of his veſſel to the changes of the precarious elements. But a ſervile attachment to it's ancient forms plunged the Roman Republic into diſorder. The new circumſtances were overlooked, and the

* Tacitus.

State

State bulged upon rocks and quickſands from the obſtinate prejudices of it's pilots.

The Roman hiſtory, however, that illuſtrious and ample ſchool of inſtruction, is but the moſt conſpicuous page for the obſervation of nations. In every country and in every age, we are abundantly taught, and awfully charged, not to procraſtinate that neceſſary reformation, which implies the continuance or increaſe of national proſperity.

But political reformers tread on dangerous ground. As they advance, new fields are continually opening before them, which equally demand the penetration of foreſight, and the direction of experience.

The evils of this imperfect ſtate tend to excite a general diſſatisfaction, which is apt to vent itſelf in a particular diſcontent with the civil conſtitutions, and in conſequent propoſitions of reformation. Vanity, a cavilling temper, and the fraud of ſelfiſh deſign, united with this reſtleſs and gloomy diſpoſition, are juſt grounds for caution in admitting the ideas of reform. Even if theſe ideas originated in the pureſt intention, as they form a moſt important object, they claim the ſevereſt ſcrutiny, and are to be weighed by that profound and comprehenſive judgment, which, reaſoning from paſt experience on the exact view of man and human affairs, can calculate future probabilities.

Attentive

Attentive only to the inconveniences of the ancient, Reformers overlook the evils of the new, ſyſtem. Emancipated from a regard to the former plan, they take no account of the partialities, which linger in other men towards it; partialities, which muſt create prejudices againſt the new regulations. Ancient laws are obeyed by habit, in conſequence of an impreſſion inſenſibly received with the growth of our reaſon. A new impulſe is neceſſary to produce a different movement, and much delicacy of preciſion is required to direct that impulſe in the unerring line of public utility. Wiſe politicians will imitate nature in the flow and ſeaſonable production of her works. They will remember that in political, as well as in natural bodies there are ſecret cauſes, which often fruſtrate the beſt concerted operations.*

Modern

* In a violent purſuit of the means, the end is often neglected. Of all the objects of reform in this country, ſinecures offer the faireſt mark for regulation. It ſeems conſiſtent with ſtrict juſtice, that none ſhould be retained, but thoſe, which are given as rewards to men of eminence, who have ſacrificed their health, and dedicated the vigor of their prime, to the active ſervice of their country. But the example of France will induce the Executive power to reſiſt the total abolition, and to be circumſpect in the diminution, of ſinecure places. The ſyſtem of œconomy adopted by Lewis XVI may be ranked among the cauſes of his ſubſequent calamities. He not only deprived himſelf of the ſupport of the numerous penſioners and placemen, who exiſted by the liberality of the Court, and of the innumerable multitude

Modern Reformers, however qualified to deſtroy the ancient monuments of error and prejudice, are deſtitute of the ability to ſubſtitute in their room the ſolid edifice of political wiſdom. In the formation of their plans, they diſdain the laborious ſtudies of the ſcience of government; they are ſatisfied with a few minute and eaſy regulations, and never embrace a comprehenſive ſyſtem, which makes allowances for imperfections, and provides for contingencies.

Government, the work of man, muſt participate of human imperfection: it cannot riſe higher than it's fountain. Reforms may be made: new defects and abuſes will ſucceed to thoſe, which have admitted a temporary remedy. Thus as long as human nature is liable to error, reformation will be *labor actus in orbem*. Bribery was become in Rome an evil, which threatened the total diſſolution of the manners of the people. A reform was attempted. But notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the Calpurnian and Julian laws, the largeſſes of the candi-

ſtitude of candidates for future emanations of Royal bounty; but he made both his enemies. So imperceptible is the diſtinction between yielding mildneſs, and the weakneſs which is only apparent. Let the reformer then, who dictates to Kings, remembering what Lewis deſigned and enacted, how he lived and how he died, offer his projects with circumſpection, confident that the unſeaſonable introduction of good is ſometimes the ſource of evil.

dates ſtill exceeded the greateſt inſtances of corruption recorded in our hiſtory.

When reformations are urged on each other, by the influence of diſcontent and vanity, a nation is overwhelmed in a ſtorm of confuſion. Reformation adminiſtered gradually and temperately is the auſpicious gale, which ſupplies the motion of progreſſive proſperity. It is the happy medium between the dead calm and the rending blaſt.

The fretful activity of man cannot but excite a ſmile, when it is conſidered that two perſons ſcarcely agree in one ſpecific plan of reform. Of many diſcordant ſchemes, if one only is adopted, grievous muſt be the diſappointment of thoſe, whoſe propoſitions are rejected. Theſe will be diſſatisfied with the new regulations; and the diſſatisfaction will be increaſed by the reſentment ariſing from the rejection, and by the envy reſulting from the preference given to the plans of others. The appearance of being ſlighted will produce a more animated oppoſition, than the ſenſe of being involved in the general maſs of unredreſſed citizens. When the weight of an evil reſts upon the public at large, every individual bears his ſhare with leſs impatience, than when it is aggravated by perſonal humiliation.

It is not an uncommon ſophiſm for reformers to expreſs a ſpecious deſire to reſtore the conſtitution to it's original principles. Taught by modern improvements to form

an idea of relative perfection, they throw their thoughts into paſt ages, and fancy that they ſee amidſt the rude documents of antiquity that purer form of repreſentation, which they would embrace as the archetype of preſent reformation. But this archetype never exiſted but in their own fancies. The Saxons were unacquainted with it; their policies were of as coarſe a texture as their manners: order and ſyſtem have gradually advanced with the growth and inſtructions of time, although the advancement is yet far below that height of perfection, which meets the imagination, but which judgment will ſcarcely conceive to be attainable.

It has been often ſaid, that if the repreſentation of the people had been free and equal, we ſhould never have lamented the evils of the American war. The ſenſe of theſe evils has procured a ready aſſent to the aſſertion; and a propoſition ſo confidently maintained is not always ſtrictly examined. The American war, in it's origin, was far from being unpopular. It was not the principle of it that was offenſive; had it concluded ſucceſsfully, it would never have been reprobated. But it ſhould be candidly recollected, that when it became unpopular, it was terminated by the Houſe of Commons.

Men are too apt to wander from the ſpirit, to the letter, of Repreſentation. At the inſtitution of Parliaments, the members were really ſent to repreſent excluſively the place, for which they were elected. Hence aroſe the phraſe of *ſerving* a particular borough or county. At preſent, each member is conſidered as legiſlator

giſlator for the whole empire; it is not therefore an object of primary magnitude that he ſhould be choſen by a large body of men, ſo long as the Houſe are not directly or indirectly under the influence of the Crown or of the Ariſtocracy.

To guard againſt the exceſſive influence of the Crown has been the great aim of Patriots, who have reaſoned, acted and fought in the cauſe of freedom in every period of our Hiſtory. Slow and imperceptible muſt be the increaſe of that influence, among a people jealous of their liberties. But it's declenſion is always rapid, and more than proportionate to it's growth. Increaſe of patronage, ariſing from extent of dominion or taxation, may throw a preponderating weight in the ſcale of the Crown; but an unfortunate war, or an unpopular adminiſtration, dimming the rays of Majeſty, will produce a contrary effect. If the influence of the Crown was increaſed to an alarming degree, when the Houſe of Commons paſſed a vote that it ought to be diminiſhed, it was in danger of being reduced to a ſtate far inferior to it's conſtitutional level by the vigorous efforts of aſſociations in 1780, when the riots in London proved the neceſſity of guarding the throne, and preſerving the Conſtitution. If elections, according to the ſyſtems of reform, were rendered perfectly democratical, then to preſerve the equality of the balance, an increaſe in the royal prerogatives would become neceſſary.

A reform, transferring the right of voting from property

perty to population, would tend to anarchy. The experiment has been tried: the example of France* is a melancholy proof of the assertion. Far from admitting men of no property to the right of voting, a wise reformer would augment the qualification. He would

* See Arthur Young's *Example of France a Warning to Britain*, in which the spirited author has painted in the most glowing colors the calamitous effects of making population, and not property, the ground of representation. It has been asserted with some confidence by the violence of party, that Mr. Young has given, in that work, a complete recantation of his former opinions. With that excellent writer in the cause of liberality and patriotism the author of these sheets is happy to boast a long intimacy. During the course of his private conversation and correspondence, or of his various publications, Mr. Young has never deviated from his principles. His change of opinion respecting the French has been the consequence of their change of system. He glowed with a Maury and a Mounier in the cause of liberty, but like them he shrunk with horror at the scenes of desolation, which marked the abuse of it.

The disinterested exertions of Mr. Young in promoting the agricultural and political interests of this country have been admired, and unrewarded, by a long series of administrations. He was a man of no party; he was therefore neglected by all parties. The institution of the Board of Agriculture, were it productive of no other salutary effects, will have the merit of expressing a sense of national gratitude, however inadequate to his services, to the author of the ANNALS OF AGRICULTURE.

abolish

aboliſh the venal hordes of *freemen*, who diſturb the tranquillity, and diſgrace the civil eſtabliſhment, of ſome elective bodies. He would at the ſame time extend the privileges of voting to the proprietors of leaſehold eſtates, and to farmers, who cannot be conſidered as men at liberty to ſhift their country, or in that ſtate of abject dependence, which beſpeaks an uneducated mind, and conſequently a greater ſuſceptibility of corruption.

If the right of voting be an advantage, it will be an object of purſuit. It is therefore found policy to reſtrict it to men of property, in order to induce thoſe, who wiſh to poſſeſs this privilege, to acquire it by induſtry, by enlarging the maſs of valuable citizens.

The talents and virtues requiſite in a member of the Britiſh Parliament are not eaſily underſtood: all men are not qualified intellectually or morally to judge the qualifications of a fellow-citizen for this high ſtation; and theſe judges are not to be expected among the loweſt of mankind, who have neither knowledge in the diſcrimination, nor intereſt in the choice, of their legiſlators.*

The

* Of this the Conſtituent Aſſembly of France were ſo ſenſible, that they eſtabliſhed an intermediate body, choſen by the primary aſſemblies from the claſs of men of property, to elect the deputies.

It is pleaſing to dwell on the few luminous points, which the French conſtitution exhibited. Of this nature too was the article,

The right and the ability to vote ſhould therefore alike be taken into conſideration by a wiſe reformer.

The methods of bribery baffle the powers of calculation, and are to be reſiſted rather by a change of manners, than by a multiplicity of laws. It is the buſineſs of law to reform what has been eſtabliſhed by law; and a change of manners muſt reform the evils produced by corrupted manners. It is a dangerous policy to attempt by law that change, which can only be effected by a change of manners.* All that can be done in this caſe is to chuſe the moſt independent voters, and not by multiplying votes ſo encreaſe the price of elections as to throw the legiſlative government of the country into the hands of thoſe, whoſe only qualification is money.

Much danger is apprehended by ſome perſons from the weight of the Ariſtocracy. But the Houſe of Lords,

ticle, which defined the qualification of members of primary aſſemblies. It is with ſurprize and ſorrow that we behold an author poſſeſſed of ſuch elegance of ſtyle, and ſtrength of intellect, as Mr. Mackintoſh, directing the artillery of his argument againſt theſe regulations.

As unaccountable is his aſſertion that the Houſe of Commons is a mere chamber to regiſter the Miniſter's edicts. He forgets the fate of the American Intercourſe Bill, of the Fortification Bill, and of the Ruſſian armaments.

* Encyclopédie Méthodique, Econ. pol. article *Changemens politiques*.

conſiſting

conſiſting of proprietors of the great landed eſtates, is the natural and permanent repreſentative of the landed intereſt. Were it not for this circumſtance, the predominance of the monied, over the landed, repreſentation in the Houſe of Commons would be theoretically dangerous. But, if we except the late wool bill,*—which has completely failed in it's purpoſes of reducing the price of that commodity by a perfect monopoly,—we ſhall with difficulty find an inſtance, in which the landed, has been ſacrificed to the monied, or manufacturing intereſt. They are indeed ſo intimately connected, that the decay of one will infallibly produce the failure of the other.

Property naturally produces influence. The reſpect paid to ſplendid talents, the admiration of a great character, affection for goodneſs, and gratitude for beneficence, unite in conferring public ſuffrages. A reform will invalidate none of theſe qualifications. Were the ſyſtem of repreſentation altered, the Ariſtocracy would loſe no influence, it would nominate more members for counties in proportion as it loſt the patronage of aboliſhed boroughs. The utility of theſe high privileges has not perhaps been properly eſtimated in their effects of introducing into Parliament young men of ſplendid abilities, who are not ſufficiently known to claim the confidence of counties or conſiderable towns. Had not this

* See A. Young's *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. X.

private

private patronage exiſted, it is probable that the talents of a Fox and a Pitt would have been unnoticed, and unemployed in the public ſervice of their country. The patrons of boroughs have beſides too much at ſtake to introduce into the legiſlature men of dangerous principles, and too great a ſenſe of honor and dignity to recommend thoſe, who have neither property nor abilities.

THE ſcience of Government, when it is applied to the concerns of a great Empire, and reaches to the intereſts of mighty multitudes and many generations, is one of the moſt arduous, that can exerciſe the human mind. Yet the happineſs of man is ſo dependent upon a good Government, that he may be pardoned for beſtowing his moſt anxious attention upon it. He cannot think and feel as a man, without looking towards the moſt important means of his happineſs. But the intereſting nature of the ſubject requires that he ſhould ſpeak and act with that caution, which the difficulty of the ſcience and the importance of the object demand. The utmoſt efforts of cultivated intellect are neceſſary to diſcover the perfect ſtate of a great Empire in it's adminiſtration as well as conſtitution. This is the bow of Ulyſſes, which none but an Ulyſſes can bend. Vaſt muſt be the knowledge of the paſt and of the preſent for this purpoſe: requiſite too is a ſuperiority to prejudices and parties. Imagination aches at the idea of the difficulty to unite qualities of ſo different a complexion as thoſe, which enable a man to take a reſpectable part either ſpeculatively or practically in the great concern of Go-

vernment. Whether the pen of the writer, or the ſceptter of the prince is to be wielded, ſo powerful are theſe inſtruments of human felicity, that in the deſpair that terreſtrial ſtrength will attain theſe momentous objects, an ingenuous mind feels the neceſſity of ſupplicating the Divine aſſiſtance.

From theſe obſervations it may be inferred—that, as the ultimate cauſes of national confuſion are in the ſtrength of the uninformed multitude, who are eaſily miſled, and impelled into dangerous activity, nothing can be more alarming to the State, than the erroneous ſpeculations, and gloomy reveries, of men upon the ſubject of Government. When vanity takes this turn, and iſſues into publications adapted to brood diſcontent, and to foſter arrogance, men are diverted from the advantages, which they might ſee and feel, from the privileges ſhowered upon them by the Conſtitution, to the contemplation of imaginary evils, and to a courſe of action deſtructive of public happineſs. By the prevalence of ſuch a contentious diſpoſition, a mighty nation, that ſhould be cemented as a block of marble ſtrong in it's coheſion and poliſhed with it's humanities, is crumbled into a maſs of ſand, and expoſed to be ſcattered by the driving ſtorm. The welfare of a nation depends upon the union of it's parts; an union, which is only found where virtuous attachment and liberal confidence are mutual between the governors and the governed; where authority neither aſks for ſervile obedience, nor ſhrinks from fair inveſtigation into ſullen pride; and where ignorance does not

not ſtep into the chair of public inſtruction to confound by pretending to reform, or by aſſuming the direction of the State, deſtroy all government. The influence of theſe oppoſite evils tends to create ſeparate intereſts, and to introduce either tyranny or anarchy. Power, conſcious of human infirmity, will not intrench itſelf behind the untenable ramparts of a fallacious ſecurity, or imperiouſly demand an unlimited confidence. But power, conſcious of rectitude, will not be wantonly inſulted. Oppoſed by licentiouſneſs and fretted with groundleſs ſuſpicion, it may ſtep aſide from that line, which is it's proper reſting place, and endeavour to arm itſelf with a coercive authority inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of conſtitutional freedom.

What is now paſſing in France ſhould draw the thoughts of reflecting men towards the ſeveral cauſes of public confuſion. From the imperfections in the conſtitution and conduct of governments they will deduce no inferences, which will not be free from every tint of malevolence, which will not force themſelves into the view in their genuine nature, and receive neither form nor color from the paſſions of the obſerver. The genuine Patriot will ſeize the opportunity of profiting by the great experiment now offered to his view by the French tranſactions: he will not haſtily aſſume the office of a reformer, but labor to promote that unanimity, and purity of manners, which may render a political reformation needleſs, or produce ſuch only as will be introduced with all the advantages of candor and wiſdom.

If

If in the calmeſt ſeaſons of human affairs, the theoriſt, in his views of improvement, has upon the whole exhibited the weakneſs of imagination, or it's tyrannic uſurpation over reaſon, can we hope, in this alarming criſis, that the reformer's eye will ſee more diſtinctly, and attend more ſteadily to his point? Can we ſuppoſe him now in leſs danger to be warped by paſſion, and biaſſed by prejudice, to bid defiance to the blandiſhments of party, and tower above the fears of danger?

IT is too apparent, O my Countrymen, that this is no time to ſpeculate, but to act; to meditate novelties, but to ſupport ancient poſſeſſions. All is now at ſtake: the fate of ſociety depends upon our conduct. We have ſeen reformations grow into revolutions; and revolutions ruſh into the worſt forms of anarchy. We have ſeen expediency in it's moſt murderous attitudes occupying the place of virtue; an atheiſtic allegory elevated on the altar of God with the oſtentation of a national triumph; and the moſt impious contempt of Divine Providence iſſuing in the laſt atrocious extravagances of human depravity. If, after the deeds of horror perpetrated at Argos, the Athenians offered ſacrifices of expiation to prevent the commiſſion of ſimilar enormities by their fellow-citizens*: our ſenſibilities muſt now be roufed; our higheſt duty and our deareſt intereſts call upon us to guard with the moſt watchful attention againſt the introduction of French principles and French barbarities. The honor

* Plutarch. *Ethic.*

of

of human nature, now traduced, is to be recovered. The moſt valuable poſſeſſions, comforts, and privileges, of mankind are now to be preſerved. In the view of the miſeries ariſing from vanity and irreligion, let us not forget how rapidly the ſcene of horror has been opened; but learn by the awful ſpectacle that, as we are but men, we cannot ſafely truſt ourſelves with any other guides, than that ſobriety of wiſdom, that rectitude of principle, which are the bonds of union between true Philoſophy and true Religion, under whoſe influence we may expect the continuance and improvement of national proſperity.

APPENDIX.

No. III.

ON THE LATE ALARMING EFFECTS OF PARTY SPIRIT IN THIS COUNTRY.

Cogit excedere formam operis erumpens animo ac pectore indignatio.

Vell. Paterc. l. ii.

IT has been ſaid of old, that between the good and the bad there is perpetual war. Candor and kindneſs are the firſt inſtruments, which the former employ to obtain the victory over their adverſaries; they never undermine their private character. The firſt hoſtilities of the latter are directed againſt the good name of their opponents. Equivocal imputations, or bold accuſations, of imaginary crimes, are their common weapons of offence.

Party

Party never fails to call Faction to it's aid. The general means, which the factious employ, are to renew animoſities, which time and reaſon had healed; to ſow diviſion, by partial offers or partial excluſion, among men of talents and influence, whoſe unanimity would tend to promote the public good; to employ all the arts of defamation againſt thoſe, who are placed by the qualities of the head or of the heart in the road to places of truſt, and offices of energy; and to miſrepreſent the opinions, or traduce the characters of others, and to form of both a phantom to frighten and to inflame the populace.

The party in oppoſition attack the public meaſures of their adverſaries; the party in power vilify the private character of their rivals. By ſome of the adherents of the latter, moderation in politics has lately been regarded with an eye of jealouſy, and branded with reproach and invective. He, who could not be induced openly to aſſert, or tacitly to confeſs, the immaculate purity of one party, and the ſyſtematical depravity of the other, was without mercy ſtigmatized with the opprobrious appellations, which the acrimonious ſpirit of the times invented for the purpoſes of defamation. A reſpectable number of men of candor and moderation might have mediated between both parties at the beginning of the Revolution, and ſaved the French Monarchy. In this country, it would be fortunate for men of that deſcription, if they were merely conſigned to the degradation of ſilent contempt.

We ſeem doomed to ſuffer a retrogradation of principles. It is not uncommon for party to adopt the ſpirit of the Code* of the Emperor Gratian, which puniſhed with exemplary ſeverity thoſe, who doubted the abilities, or the integrity, of public officers. *Sacrilegii inſtar eſt dubitare an is dignus ſit, quem elegerit Imperator.* Men of the pureſt patriotiſm, and of the moſt unſhaken loyalty, who have, unfortunately for their intereſt and for their ſafety, fallen into this predicament, have been cruelly calumniated. Eaſy and natural is the progreſs from the impunity, to the private approbation, and to the open reward, of calumny. This would appear paradoxical, if Hiſtory did not furniſh other inſtances. *Quo quis diſtinctior accuſator, eo magis honores aſſequebatur, ac veluti ſacroſanctus erat.*†

It ſeems to be the wiſh of the triumphant party to place a beam of "unapproachable light" around the character of their favorite chiefs, who, if this artifice ſucceeds, ceaſe to be amenable to the bar of private judgment, or of public cenſure. It is almoſt received as a maxim among hyper-politicians, that a Stateſman leaves to the lower herd the neceſſity of practiſing virtue and humanity; that in the proſecution of his views he may break the ties of honor, and give a looſe to the moſt vindictive paſſions; that he may wring the heart of modeſt merit by daſhing the hopes he has raiſed, depreſs the deſerving

* *De crimine ſacrilegii.*

† Tacit.

to

to exalt the turbulent, and abandon to the miſeries of diſappointment, or to the calamities of poverty, thoſe, who have no other claim to urge but diſintereſted ſervices, no other returns to offer, but the ſilent effuſions of gratitude. According to theſe principles, if the manners of a nation take their direction from the conduct of the great, diſmal is the proſpect of the public character.

If we are debarred from giving an opinion on the conduct of a Miniſter by the threats of defamation, or the danger of obloquy, the *Lettres de cachet* of the old Government of France have been much calumniated. The iron gates of the Baſtille were ſometimes opened to releaſe the victim of jealous tyranny or of private malignity; but

L'honneur eſt comme un Ile eſcarpée & ſans bords,
*On n'y peut plus rentrer dès qu'on en eſt dehors.**

The loyalty natural to the heart of an Engliſhman has been converted by the arts of party into an engine of perſecution. Hence to doubt the rectitude of a miniſter's private views or public conduct has been deemed an infringement of the Royal prerogatives, or incurred the reproach of diſaffection to the principles of the Conſtitution! He, who has dared to diſapprove a meaſure of Adminiſtration, has been branded with the names of DEMOCRATE, and of JACOBIN! *O rem, quam homines*

* Boileau.

*ſoluti ridere non deſinant, triſtiores autem ſine maximo dolore audire non poſſint.**

Such are the effects of party violence in the preſent times: effects ſo deſtructive of public confidence and private ſecurity, that we are not free from the danger of ſinking into the circumſtances ſo emphatically deſcribed by the Roman Hiſtorian: *ademto per inquiſitiones et loquendi audiendique commercio.* †

Theſe remarks are very unwillingly introduced. They never would have appeared, had it not been thought a moral duty to expoſe a policy ſo cruel, and ſo inhuman a conduct, as the unfeeling miſrepreſentations, to which they allude. Would to Heaven it could be proved that theſe miſrepreſentations had not exiſted! To a liberal mind it would give more pleaſure to be convicted of having formed a wrong judgment in ſuch a caſe, than to perſiſt in a bad opinion of the public or private conduct of any individual. But

Indignis ſi malè dicitur, maledictum id eſſe dico:
Verùm ſi dignis dicitur, benedictum eſt. ‡

Perſecution ever defeats it's own purpoſes. In it's wanton attack on unſuſpecting innocence, the welfare of ſociety demands that it ſhould be it's own puniſh-

* Cicero, *Orat. pro Dome.*

† Tacit. *Jul. Agric.*

‡ Plaut. *Curcul.* A. iv, S. ii, 27.

ment.

ment. In ſpite of the rancor of calumny, and the miſ-repreſentations of malevolence, the man, who is not actuated by intereſted motives, who has no object in view but his country's good, will be of no party. He will candidly and freely diſcuſs the conduct of ſtateſmen, whether they are baſking in the ſunſhine of Royal favor, or freezing in the hopeleſs gloom of Oppoſition. He will rejoice to ſee, on great occaſions, his repreſentatives yield to the force of conviction, forget their party connexions, and forſake their political leaders. He will applaud equally the motives, which diminiſhed the Miniſter's majority in the Ruſſian armament*, and thoſe, which taught another great Stateſman in December laſt, that his adherents would not always make his opinions the rule of their conduct.

* It is not here preſumed to decide on the merits of that tranſaction. Had the Miniſter been more candid; had he explained, in the moſt general terms, the nature of his operations, and his proſpect of ſucceſs, he would probably have met with the ſame cordial co-operation, which he experienced during the Dutch and Spaniſh negociations. So true is the ancient aſſertion: καίτοι τόγε πειρᾶσθαι λανθάνειν ἐφ' οἷς πράττοι τις ὁμολογουμένως ἁμαρτάνειν ἐστί. Muſonius, *in Stobæo*, vi.

The Duke of Leeds has not been ſufficiently praiſed for his firm and conſiſtent conduct on that occaſion. His reſignation is one of the few inſtances, which the hiſtory of adminiſtrations affords, of independence and diſintereſtedneſs.

FINIS.

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The following is the Publication mentioned at page 61:

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Upon an ASSIZE SERMON,
Preached at READING, MARCH 6, 1792,
By the Rev. R. VALPY, D.D. F.A.S.
By the Rev. G. BUTT, D.D.
Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty.